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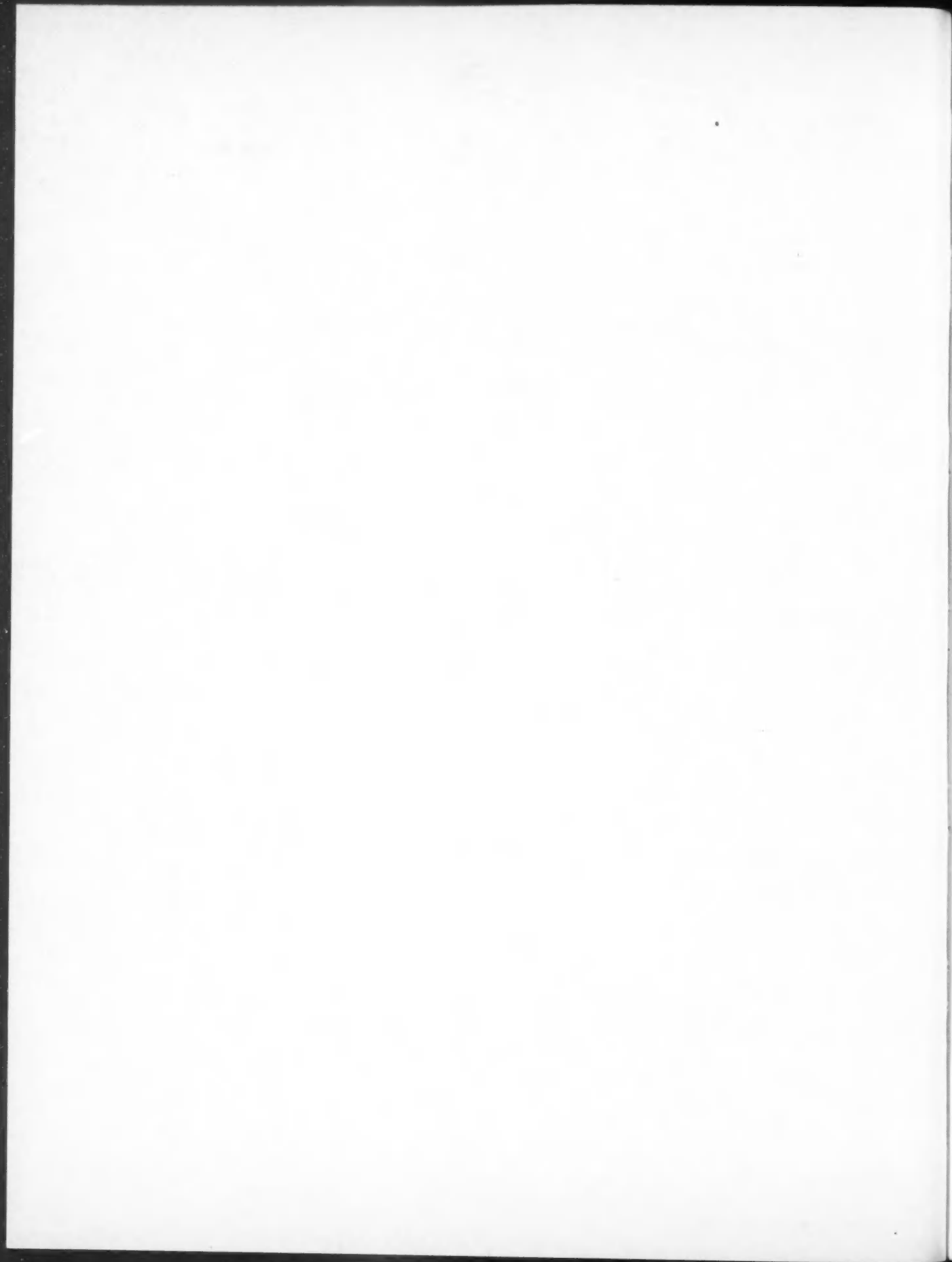
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WEST AFRICA

The Gold Coast

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FEDERAL MOVEMENT

The Governor's Speech

The Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, spoke on the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the course of a speech at a Durbar held by the Akin Abuakwa State Council last February. He said that the Gold Coast constitution was established by an order made by Her Majesty in Council, and it seemed to him inappropriate therefore to talk of a Constituent Assembly, in the sense which he understood those words, before such an assembly would be capable of altering or framing a political constitution without reference to any other authority. The Governor said: "There is much loose talk in this country of federalism and regionalism; frankly I do not know what federalism or regionalism means in terms of practical politics and I don't believe the ordinary voter does either."

The Governor advised that it would be wise for those who were concerning themselves with these matters to get round a table with representatives of the Government and try to find a generally acceptable solution. He added: "It would be indeed tragic if the Gold Coast, on the threshold of its independence, showed itself incapable of settling its own political differences and difficulties in a peaceful and constitutional way and disappointed the high hopes not only of its own people but of all Africans and their wellwishers throughout the whole world."

While full support for the Governor's remarks was given in Government circles and in newspapers supporting the Convention People's Party, elsewhere strong criticism was voiced. *The Ashanti Pioneer* in editorial comments (February 23, 24 and 25, 1955) stated that the Governor had ranged himself with the C.P.P. Government. His tours round the country since the demand for federation had been made, gave the impression that they had been made in the selfish interest of the C.P.P., and his strange defence of the Government's stand against the demand of the Ashantis for a Constituent Assembly might imply that the British Government was prepared to hand over power to the present Government within the life of the present Assembly. "Could cause for disgust be more solid?" asked the editorial.

The Appointment of a Select Committee

A Select Committee has been appointed by the Speaker of the House of Assembly to examine the questions of a federal system of government and the setting up of a Second Chamber. All ten members of the Committee are members of the C.P.P. (the Government Party), since Opposition members refused to co-operate with the Government on this issue.

Introducing the motion proposing the appointment of the Committee, the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, said that he regarded it as a test of the question whether parliamentary democracy would be the future basis of government in the Gold Coast.

On the question of the federal system of government, Dr. Nkrumah said that he had always favoured a unitary state for the Gold Coast for obvious administrative, economic, and

financial reasons. The question had only been raised by the Asanteman Council and the National Liberation Movement a few months ago. The issue of a Federation was not raised in the 1954 General Election, neither was it mentioned in any manifesto of political parties. The Select Committee which he proposed would be a body of Gold Coast citizens, members of a democratically elected House.

With regard to the demand by the N.L.M. for a Constituent Assembly to discuss the introduction of a federal system of government, Dr. Nkrumah said: "If by a Constituent Assembly is meant a fully representative body capable of considering questions affecting the form of the Constitution and negotiating with the British Government to have changes made in the Constitution before independence, then that Assembly is already in being; that is this Assembly. If it is desired to make any changes in the present Constitution before independence, then these changes can only be made by the British Government by an Order in Council." The Prime Minister said that to throw the country into another General Election less than a year after the last one, and based on the same electoral arrangements, would be both unnecessary and inappropriate.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Dombo, said that instead of calling on the country to draw up a Constitution embracing all constitutional issues, the Government had chosen the process of piecemeal discussion. It had chosen to have this discussion in an Assembly not elected for the purpose of drawing up a Constitution. The demand for Federal Government and a Second Chamber had always been accompanied by a request for a Constituent Assembly as the most appropriate body to determine the issues of constitution. By its motion, the Government was side-stepping that request. "We of the Opposition are convinced that the motion is an insidious attempt by the Government, under the guise of democratic procedure, to arrogate to itself power to force a constitution of its own liking and making on the people of this country."

The Opposition members, including a few Independent members and the Togoland representatives, then walked out of the Assembly. They were not present the following day when the Speaker announced the members appointed to the Select Committee.

Commenting on the Leader of the Opposition's statement, *West Africa* (April 9, 1955) said: "The idea that the 'people' and the elected legislature are different is dangerous; though Mr. Dombo is a devout anti-Communist, he is unwittingly using a Communist device. It is Mr. Dombo who is trying to side-step the Legislative Assembly, which, with all its imperfections, is still the only representative body in the Gold Coast."

"Now an all-C.P.P. Select Committee has been appointed. Though it includes Ashanti members its task will obviously be difficult . . . But if the Opposition is determined not to help in an investigation of this kind, the Government could reply that it is, after all, doing its best in face of difficulties."

Disturbances in Ashanti

Clashes between C.P.P. and N.L.M. supporters took place in Ejisu and Kumasi on May 14 and 15.

West Africa (May 21, 1955) reported: "The occasion for the disturbances seems to have been a 'flaghoisting' ceremony arranged by the C.P.P. at Ejisu, an N.L.M. stronghold, some twenty miles east of Kumasi. C.P.P. members who, on the whole, have shown great restraint since the N.L.M. became

powerful, are naturally anxious, in face of N.L.M. claims that the C.P.P. had 'disappeared', to show that their organisation is alive. The hoisting of a party flag is one way of doing this, but it also gives their opponents something to attack. Disorder spread to Kumasi itself where, in the end, the police used tear gas. But the most significant event in Kumasi was the gathering of hundreds of people to pay tribute to a dead C.P.P. leader. The C.P.P. certainly has not 'disappeared' in Kumasi, far less elsewhere in Ashanti . . . Both Mr. Mainoo, for the C.P.P., and Baffour Akoto, for the N.L.M., are reported to have assisted the police in Kumasi in restraining their followers."

Chiefs Support the Government

The Opposition in the Gold Coast, headed by the National Liberation Movement, has received a setback from an unexpected quarter. It had counted on the support of the Chiefs, who feared the Central Government was trying to undermine their traditional authority, and of the people of Ashanti, where regional nationalism is strong, and there has been resentment at the Government's fixing of cocoa prices.

This week an overwhelming majority of the Chiefs of the Colony (the coastal region), meeting at Dodowah, decided in favour of a unitary government. They also voted against a Second Chamber in the Legislature (favoured by the Opposition as a check on the C.P.P.) and disagreed with a charge that the Governor, by appearing to support unitary government had "overstrained the loyalty of the people". Finally they passed a vote of confidence in the Governor and Dr. Nkrumah's Administration. (*The Observer*, May 22, 1955.)

THE COCOA INDUSTRY

The Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. J. E. Jantuah, said in the House of Assembly on April 1 that it was essential that the country's production of cocoa should be stimulated to the fullest extent and that every single ton now being destroyed by capsids and black pod should be harvested. He believed that cocoa farmers could do this when given proper instruction and assistance. To this end an intensive campaign was being launched by the Department of Agriculture in conjunction with the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development.

The Gold Coast Marketing Board has announced that the cocoa price for both the 1955 mid crop and 1955/6 main crop will be 80s. per 60 lb. load. This is an increase of 8s. over the previous price.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The Minister of Education, the Hon. J. H. Allassani, speaking during the Debate on the Appropriation Bill, reviewed the progress made during the first three years of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education. Enrolment in primary schools had increased by over 83 per cent; in middle schools by 66 per cent and in teacher training colleges by 100 per cent. Secondary schools had been increased from thirteen in 1951 to thirty at the end of 1954, and there had been an increase of 175 per cent in student accommodation.

Courses leading to Higher School Certificate were now provided by five institutions. The first fruits of the extension of sixth form work were now evident. According to results just received, there were 150 successful candidates—about 70 per

cent of those who sat. On technical education, Mr. Allassani said there had been an eightfold increase.

Mr. Allassani announced that a total of 260 scholarship awards was made by the Government during the current academic year, and it was hoped to increase the number by almost 70 per cent next year. He said there were at present 262 recipients of scholarships overseas, 319 at the University College and 115 at Kumasi College of Technology. There were a further 328 in sixth forms.

Dr. G. B. Jeffreys, Head of the Colonial Department, London University Institute of Education, broadcast from Accra during a recent visit to the Gold Coast. His talk dealt mainly with the progress of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education which was introduced in 1951.

Dr. Jeffreys said: "One difference I notice since I was last in the Gold Coast two years ago is that I hear a great deal more criticism of the progress made under the plan—criticism of Government—criticism of the department—and criticism of the schools. That is not a bad thing in itself; it shows that the public are interested and want to see the plan succeed. But the criticism ought to be fair and reasonable. An understaffed department of education ought not to be blamed because one man cannot do the work of three men."

Dr. Jeffreys commented that in the whole history of education he could not think of any other country which could match their record of 5½ years. He added, however, that the lack of trained teachers was a serious blot, "because the foundation of everything else is shaky unless we can have many more trained teachers in the primary schools. We always knew that there would be a dangerous period before the necessary training colleges could be built and staffed, but we had hoped that by now the proportion of trained teachers would be better than it is." In explanation, Dr. Jeffreys said that new enrolments of children in the primary schools had been much higher than had been expected. Instead of between 70,000 and 80,000 new entries each year it was now estimated that there would be about 100,000. In consequence there had been some slowing up of the plan.

Nigeria

CONSTITUTIONAL DISPUTE IN THE EASTERN REGION

A DISPUTE has arisen between the Governor of Eastern Nigeria, Sir Clement Pleass, and the Eastern House of Assembly, led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, on the use of the Governor's "reserved" powers. Under the Nigerian Constitution, all bills and motions which affect prejudicially the conditions of service of public officers, are reserved for the Governor.

Dr. Azikiwe, in a statement to the House of Assembly on March 18, said that His Excellency had indicated "his unwillingness to accept the advice of the Executive Council of the Eastern Region in connection with the Draft Estimates 1955/6, on particular issues, to wit: (a) Non-provision of expatriation allowance for new posts of Permanent Secretaries in six Ministries; (b) Abolition of vacant post of one Senior Resident and ultimate abolition of any of the remaining four posts as soon as any vacancy occurs therein; (c) Non-provision

of expatriation allowance for two posts of Assistant Secretary in the Governor's office; and (d) Down-grading from Scale H to K of the post of Secretary to the Premier."

Dr. Azikiwe stated that the Executive were acting constitutionally in accordance with section 63 (8) of the Nigerian Constitution, since the post to be down-graded and those from which expatriation allowances were to be withheld were vacant. He claimed also that the post of one Senior Resident was vacant, and added: "In respect of the ultimate abolition of the remaining four posts, the Executive Council is of opinion that, with the enactment of the Local Government Law, 1955, and the repeal of the Native Courts Ordinance, the responsibilities and duties of Residents will lapse with the effluxion of time. Moreover, with the creation of ministries, the executive duties and the policy making responsibilities of Residents have become redundant. Already there are complaints from Residents that they are no longer in the picture of things."

However, when the question affecting the establishment of one Resident came before the House, the Speaker referred it to the Governor, since in his view there was insufficient evidence that the post was in fact vacant. The Governor informed him that the post was filled by an Acting Resident whose conditions of service would be affected by its abolition.

The Prime Minister was not prepared to accept this view. He maintained that the conditions of service and promotion of an acting officer were not necessarily affected by the abolition of a post which he held only in an acting capacity. Dr. Azikiwe brought forward a number of points to support this view.

The Speaker replied that the Governor had not thrown any light on the question of whether a vacant appointment ceases to be so because an acting officer had been appointed. In the Speaker's opinion the position of Resident then under discussion was vacant and therefore the debate might continue. The bill was passed unanimously.

The Governor then announced his intention to bring in a Supplementary Appropriation Bill under powers conferred on him by the Nigerian Constitution. This bill was put before a specially summoned session of the House of Assembly on April 19. It was neither debated nor passed by the House. The Governor in a declaration in the *Eastern Nigerian Gazette* on April 25, declared the Bill passed, thus authorising the inclusion in the Estimates for 1955-6 of an additional sum to cover the allowances and salaries abolished by the original Appropriation Bill.

During the course of this dispute the Secretary of State for the Colonies, replying to Mrs. Eirene White (Labour) in the House of Commons, said: "I consider . . . the Governor's decision to use his powers is wise and I fully support it." He added that he had come back from his recent tour of Nigeria determined to encourage British officers already there to stay, and others to go out to Nigeria to serve there. He said: "The action now threatened has placed me in a very difficult personal position and the action taken, or proposed to be taken, seems wholly at variance with the undertaking given to me by Dr. Azikiwe when I was recently in Nigeria."

In a statement replying to the Secretary of State, Dr. Azikiwe said that he regarded his accusation as unfair, and since it was not possible for him to defend his honour in the House of Commons he was forced to assume that "it was a deliberate act of hitting below the belt". He continued: "The lack of objectivity in giving material information to the House

of Commons by the Secretary of State indicates prejudice of some sort. It strengthens my honest belief that our dispute with the Governor is a struggle against the forces of autocracy. When Mr. Lennox-Boyd visited Enugu, last January, I assured him that the Executive Council stood by the undertaking which was given by party leaders at the Lagos Conference . . . We guaranteed that the services of overseas officers shall not be arbitrarily dispensed with, but we emphasised our determination 'to press forward with the Nigerianisation of the Civil Service'."

In editorial comment *West Africa* (April 30, 1955) wrote: "In Eastern Nigeria the constitutional conflict must, in the long run, strengthen Dr. Azikiwe's political position. The opposition has been obliged to support him; he is seen as the champion of Africanisation which now excites more emotion throughout West Africa than self-government itself, and he can go to the constitutional conference next year with a fighting demand for abolition of the Governor's powers—which, but for the Eastern dispute, would have happened almost automatically without giving political kudos to anyone. But the East's economic position is so precarious, and its chances of retaining enough expatriate civil servants to keep the Government machine working satisfactorily so uncertain, that the NCNC cannot be said to have plain sailing before it."

NIGERIA PREPARES FOR INDEPENDENCE

Miss Margery Perham, in an article in *The Times* (March 17, 1955) entitled "The Problem of Unity", described the will to unity in Nigeria today as weak. No longer could opposition to British tutelage unite the educated leaders of the people. With the introduction of almost universal suffrage, these leaders have had "to create support out of such material as they could find. The most promising was tribal separatism."

"The tribes, as in the Gold Coast and Uganda, are beginning to assert their identity again, and they are encouraged by chiefs who feel their position endangered by modern forces. We therefore have an ironic situation in which Britain strives to unite and rule while the Africans try to divide and rule. But 'tribe' is an inexact word, and the disunities of Nigeria are neither simple nor uniform. The regions represent groups of tribes. Three of these, the Western, Eastern and the Southern Cameroons, cut the great southern coastal belt into three, while along them stretches the vast block of the Northern Region. British rule provided a framework in which these disparate elements could exist together in mutual security. The prospect of its removal is now throwing them together and forcing them to work out their true balance of power . . .

"The Constitutional aims of the regions correspond with their character and their interests. The Yoruba of the West share their language, their old tradition of chieftainship and city life, their long history, and their prosperous self-containment founded upon cocoa and craftsmanship. They are a sophisticated people, long in contact with the outside world. Their women have commerce in their blood . . . Their Action Group Ministry, under the able and austere lawyer, Mr. Awolowo, is busy building up a strong region, fit for almost independent life and inclined to turn its back on the rest of Nigeria."

But even Yorubaland is not solid. "It is divided by both party strife and tribal separatism, the latter threatening from the so-called Middle West, where the Benin and Delta provinces are playing with the idea of fission. The Action Group

would not be sorry to shed them since they could then hope to consolidate their party control over the truly Yoruba provinces. In this sanctuary Mr. Awolowo, whose Ministry has just launched a costly and largely effective system of free universal elementary education, would like to create a model state. All he asks is security, above all from intruding forces of unity. He would like to see the constitution buttressed against them by imperial and other sanctions. He would also like to exclude 'foreigners' who man the federal police and vote in elections. These 'foreigners' do not come from very far away. They come from the Eastern Region, within which the famous 'Zik', Dr. Azikiwe, now its Premier, first built up his Nationalist Party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. This party aims at a more unitary constitution."

These people who are mainly Ibo were a forest people crowded together on poor soil, and having no history of chiefs, large states and cities. "Their gaze is therefore wholly on the future. Ambitious individualists, yet capable of mass co-operation, they swarm out of their insufficient homeland into those of their neighbours taking their politics with them . . . Dr. Azikiwe, a fierce nationalist turned constructive premier, wants a more fragmented Nigeria with a stronger centre. The North, he urged upon the writer, has over half the population, and is too large for a federation."

"The Northern People's Congress, which stands for the maintenance of a solid, separate North based upon its ancient traditions, had an overwhelming majority in the federal election."

In a second article (*The Times*, March 19, 1955) Miss Perham wrote: "If we attempt to sum up the favourable and unfavourable factors which govern Nigeria's great experiment in democracy, we start with one immense advantage. All the chief political leaders aim at remaining within the Commonwealth and adopting, so far as the federal form permits, the British system of social democracy. This shows astonishing faith in us and our constitution."

Among the unfavourable aspects of the situation Miss Perham lists costly excursions into state enterprises for production and finance; reckless bids and counterbids with wage rates for party advantage; shocking lack of restraint in political controversy; and corruption which "flourishes at all levels".

"Before condemning this too severely one must remember that the country is only just beginning to drag itself out of acute poverty, and that social obligations have not until recently extended much beyond the family. Furthermore, the problem of running a modern welfare state has come very suddenly and the shortage of trained staff is very acute. The leaders have immense plans under way for training their own people, but until these mature they are utterly dependent on the present British staff, and need many more. In the north their need is so great—there is not yet one qualified northern doctor among the population of 17 million—that they dread independence, for it will leave them open to colonisation from the south. They plead passionately for more British staff, but there are simply not enough available."

" . . . The new relationship demands that men who have been masters should become servants. This is especially difficult because the new masters, though often of character and ability, are necessarily inexperienced and often may be working more for personal or party ends than for the public good."

" . . . But special if not desperate measures are needed. Some imaginative director of recruitment might be appointed and the Colonial Office and the Treasury might abandon caution, routine, and a false economy and find ways, administrative and financial, which might lead men and women confidently to Nigeria—or keep them there. There are no stereotyped patterns in the Commonwealth. If Britain can help to satisfy the urgent needs of the Nigerians, while still respecting their new independence, she may find that she can build a more intimate relationship with this immense African country than anyone could ever have envisaged."

APPOINTMENT OF A NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Sir James Robertson, K.C.M.G., former member of the Sudan Civil Service, has been appointed the new Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria, in succession to Sir John Macpherson, who retired recently.

The British Cameroons

POLITICAL CHANGES

BRIGADIER E. J. Gibbons, Special Representative of the Administering Authority of the British Cameroons described the recent political changes in Nigeria to the U.N. Trusteeship Council, and explained their effect on the Administration of the British Cameroons. The people of the Northern Cameroons would remain a part of the northern region of Nigeria as in the past, but the Southern Cameroons, although becoming part of the Federation of Nigeria, would be established as a separate region with extensive responsibility for the administration of its internal affairs. The Southern Cameroons will elect six members to the Federal House of Representatives and the Northern Cameroons will elect four.

Criticising these arrangements, the Syrian delegate, Muhammad H. El-Farra, claimed that the administering authority had gone much farther than the trusteeship agreement permitted. The agreement provided that the Cameroons might be administered as part of Nigeria but it did not sanction the trust territory's division into two parts. Such a division, he maintained, prejudiced the choice of the people on the territory's future status.

Representatives from Haiti, the U.S.S.R. and India also criticised the proposals. But representatives of the United States, France, Australia and New Zealand all expressed satisfaction with the constitutional changes and emphasised that the division of the Cameroons represented the freely-expressed wishes of the people.

The French delegate, M. Robert Bargues, pointed out that, economically and financially, the Cameroons depended on Nigeria and that to include the Cameroons in an administrative union with Nigeria assured the territory of a stable development.

Mr. A. H. Loomes (Australia) noted that the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the territory had been conducted with good will on both sides. Mr. J. V. Scott (New Zealand) stressed that the arrangements were in accord with the terms of the trusteeship agreement and permitted the administering authority to fulfil its responsibilities under the agreement. (*U.N. Information Service*, February 14, 1955.)

Sierra Leone

INQUIRY INTO DISTURBANCES

The Commission of Inquiry into the disturbances which took place in Freetown during February, has toured the affected areas, and heard evidence from over one hundred witnesses, including representatives of the Artisans and Allied Workers' Union, who had ordered a strike three days before the riots occurred.

THE DIAMOND INDUSTRY

An article entitled "The Diamond Coast" in *The Economist* (March 12, 1955) described how twenty-five years ago Sierra Leone was a poor country subsisting mainly on exports of palm kernels and a little alluvial gold. However a geological survey department set up by the government located enormous deposits of hematite and—in one of the remotest parts in the hinterland—diamondiferous areas. A Minerals Ordinance was introduced, and a monopoly of diamond mining was granted to the Sierra Leone Selection Trust, an offshoot of the Selection Trust Group, which agreed to pay the colonial government a royalty and income tax together amounting to 45 per cent of net profits.

"It was some time before the Africans realised the value of the stuff they dug. Thefts in the washeries were at first small. But the situation had begun to change even before the war . . . But the real difficulty arose when the company had trained Africans so well that they started to go potholing for diamonds on their own account . . .

"But since the war, there have been new developments. The price of diamonds, both gems and industrial stones, has risen much farther. Modern armaments require diamonds, and Russia has become a considerable buyer in the world market for illicit diamonds . . . Money began to pour into Sierra Leone (though not into its Treasury), and corruption spread."

As the result of extensive potholing beyond the Selection Trust's proven area, it became clear that huge areas of Sierra Leone's river system were diamondiferous. This, the article continued, meant that "thieving in the Selection Trust's own compound became totally unimportant compared with the snowballing output of a huge illegal private enterprise diamond washery . . . The value of its output is believed to be well above that of the Selection Trust itself—perhaps £2 million a year."

In March 1954 the Selection Trust entered into a new agreement with the Sierra Leone Government under which they agreed to pay 60 per cent of their net profits to the Government, instead of 45 per cent as before. In return for this payment of 60 per cent it received an assurance that illicit mining would be suppressed by police action. This however presents great difficulties, particularly since African Ministers must listen to African opinion which backs the potholers, and the Sierra Leone administration is in the process of being Africanised.

The article concluded: "From all quarters of the world, not-too-scrupulous operators are trying to buy the diamonds that are seeping through this breach in the defences of the world diamond organisation. . . . It may not seriously threaten the world diamond price, since it is probably well under 5 per cent of annual supply; but it represents huge losses to the monopoly. And whether or not a private monopoly is an adequate

means of realising Sierra Leone's diamond wealth—or the diamond wealth of any country—the long term interests of the African peoples are being prejudiced. It would not be surprising if some of those responsible for policy were half hoping that the African finds will be quickly worked out, and that Sierra Leone will prove less diamondiferous than present indications suggest."

CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

FIRST PARLIAMENTARY SESSION

The first session of the Federal Parliament ended on April 6. The political correspondent of the *Rhodesia Herald* (April 8, 1955) summed up his impressions of the session.

"One fact that has emerged from this first session is that while the Government Members, as could be expected, are firmly behind the Federal Party on major issues, most are very critical of legislation. They are prepared to attack policy and Bills if they think they are wrong, and have no hesitation in telling Ministers very forcibly when they consider a mistake is being made. Few Members have really warranted the appellation given them by some sections of the public of being 'yes men'. "Most Government Members left Parliament this week having acquired a genuine respect for the one-man opposition, the Confederate Party leader, Mr. Dendy Young . . .

"Time and again during the session Mr. Young attacked legislation which he considered unfair, outstanding examples being on immigration policy, Asiatic registration and status, and the appeal provisions in the Federal Supreme Court Bill . . .

"At the beginning of the session the African Members from the north were too inclined to seek discrimination in legislation. But by the end of the sitting just ended they had calmed down considerably.

"Mr. Wellington Chirwa, of Nyasaland, certainly gave the House food for thought a few weeks ago when, after he had been accused by a number of Members of being a racist, he asked how any person could be so accused who was only doing his best to advance his people.

"When the session started Members were inclined to be very parochial—they approached legislation as it affected their particular territories. But now they have, in general, learned to approach all matters on a federal basis."

DECISION ON KARIBA HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME

Sir Godfrey Huggins's¹ announcement that the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme would be given priority over Kafue, as might be expected, has caused considerable controversy within the Federation and has split the Federal Parliament along territorial and not along party lines. It was alleged by Mr. A. T. Williams, Chief Secretary in the Northern Rhodesian Government that an agreement in 1953 between Sir Godfrey Huggins and Sir Gilbert Rennie (then Governor of Northern Rhodesia) was still in force. This agreement, he said, was that the Kafue project should be carried out first.

Mr. J. H. Lascelles, Chairman of the Federal Hydro-Electric

¹The Prime Minister was recently honoured and assumed the title of Lord Malvern.

Board, tendered his resignation and was criticised by Sir Malcolm Barrow, the Federal Minister of Power, who said: "I deplore the propaganda that the choice of Kariba means a slowing down of development in Northern Rhodesia. I find it difficult to believe that the provisions of large quantities of cheap electric power can do other than good to the economy of the territory." (*Central African Post*, March 4, 1955.)

In a speech in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for African Interests, expressed disappointment and disquiet at the Kariba decision. "We could have done the Kafue scheme on our own—on our heads—out of the annual revenue even without Federation. We have not only now given the Federal Government all that revenue that we should have used, we have lent them considerable sums of money. We are not allowed to raise a loan; we have already spent a million pounds on Kafue; and now without any consultation as provided in the constitution and in a dictatorial manner to which we in the north are not accustomed, we are coldly told 'You can't have Kafue. You'll have Kariba. There was never any agreement' . . . I think a lot of people are getting, to put it plainly, a little fed up at the sort of attitude that any frank or constructive criticism of the Federal Government is designed to damage Federation, or its credit abroad." (*Central African Post*, March 16, 1955.)

Commenting on the controversy in a broadcast from Lusaka on March 13, Lord Malvern denied the existence of an agreement or promise as alleged by the Northern Rhodesian Chief Secretary. There was merely a joint declaration of policy which simply amounted to saying: "With the facts before us we both think that it will be in the interests of both our countries to get on with Kafue first, if certain conditions can be fulfilled." The agreement was based on the assumption that most of the money for Kafue was in sight for resources that would not be available to the Federal Government. This assumption turned out to be wrong. (*Central African Post*, March 14, 1955.)

On April 1, M. Andre Coyne, the French expert who had inspected both sites and had considered both schemes, said at a press conference that the decision as to which scheme should be started first should remain with the government, since this was an economic not a technical decision. But although he sympathised with the people who had worked so hard on the Kafue scheme, it was his duty as consultant to the government to say that Kariba was definitely the better.

The Political Correspondent of the *Central African Post* drew attention to the question of the African, in relation to the Kariba scheme, and said: "The estimate of Africans to be moved before the Zambezi Valley can be flooded to form the vast storage lake, is 26,000 on the Northern Rhodesian bank and 14,000 on the Southern Rhodesian side.

"Such a move is unprecedented in British African colonial territories, and the difficulties it will cause—even if the Africans are willing to go—are vast. The Africans in the area are the Valley Tonga, who are devoted to the Valley. They have lived there for generations and it is the burial ground of their ancestors. They believe that gods watch over them in the Valley.

"There are numerous chiefs among the tribesmen and a big fear is that when they are moved they will have to encroach on other chiefs' lands. Thus, while remaining chiefs of their own peoples, they will no longer be chiefs over land.

"A serious aspect of the move is the possible effect on the

health of the Tongas. Used to the low-lying humidity of the Valley, they are bound to feel the effect if moved up to the Plateau.

"As far as can be ascertained, the Federal Government has not yet given detailed thought to where the 40,000 are to go. Senior officers of the Provincial Administration in the Territory are fervently hoping that the new grounds for the Tonga will be as similar to their present homes as is possible, and that they may not have to be moved to any great altitude.

"The Federal Government's estimate of £650,000 as compensation for the move appears to be an under-estimate. Much of the land on the Northern Rhodesian side of the river is Native Trust Land, and Africans guard intrusion into the Trust Lands jealously. But there is a clause in the Trust Land Act which permits the acquisition of land for 'public purposes'.

"While hydro-electric power undoubtedly comes within such a definition, it is, none the less, difficult to put it over to a raw tribesman that electricity for the Copperbelt and the industries of Southern Rhodesia is a good reason why he should tear up his roots from his traditional home.

"But while the move of the 40,000 is a major consideration—the Colonial Secretary himself would have to sanction the Northern Rhodesia part of it—agitators, both European and African, are losing sight of the fact that similar upsets would be caused to Africans if the Kafue scheme were started. While the number of Africans to be moved is only a fraction of the Kariba figure (350 for the first stage of the Kafue project, another 450 with Meshi Teshe) thousands of acres of the richest grazing lands in the Federation would be flooded and thus almost certainly cause a considerable reduction in the number of Native cattle using the Kafue Flats."

Mr. W. F. Stubbs, Secretary for Native Affairs, told a Southern Province African Council meeting at Choma that everything possible would be done to see that the Africans affected did not suffer. He said: "It will be the responsibility of the Northern Rhodesia Government to ensure that the movement of people is done with as little hardship to them as possible. The scheme itself will bring great benefits to the people of Northern Rhodesia, since it will provide cheap electric power to the country.

"The people in the Southern Province will benefit greatly from the scheme which will provide work for very large numbers and a market for their produce. The Government realises that the movement of people from their homes is a very serious matter, and will take every possible action to see that the people are moved to areas which will provide them with proper facilities for their development and welfare—at least as good as those which they enjoy today.

"The movement will take several years, and before it starts the Native authorities will be fully consulted and the Provincial Administration and the Agriculture and Water Development Departments will be employed on finding suitable sites for villages and in helping in every way in the construction of new villages for the people who are to be moved . . ." (*Central African Post*, April 13, 1955.)

NO CONFIDENCE DEBATE

On March 15, 1955, Mr. van Eeden (Independent member for Kafue) moved a motion in the Federal Parliament of no confidence in the Government. He based his criticism of the Government on six grounds: its restrictive immigration

policy; failure to prevent a change in the Nyasaland land situation; failure to tackle the question of the Federal franchise; apathy in bringing all federal matters under immediate federal control; the lack of cohesion between the federal and territorial governments on a uniform racial policy within the Federation; and the lack of a concrete scheme for the attainment of full self-government within the Commonwealth.

On the question of the Nyasaland land policy, he said: "I was always under the impression that once Federation had become a *fait accompli* then the Federal Government would become sufficiently strong to resist any attempt on the part of the Colonial Office to make any changes affecting the Federation in the three territories . . . What attempt was made to prevent this change from taking place in Nyasaland?"

On the question of dominion status he said: "I always thought that one of the methods of obtaining dominion status would be by the Federal Government gradually acquiring more power towards the centre. That I have always believed was one of the methods which the government intended to pursue in an endeavour to eventually obtain dominion status, to try and get more and more power away from the territorial governments, that is to say from the Colonial Office in the two Northern territories, and once they had sufficient power in the centre to press for dominion status . . . I was under the impression, and that was one of the reasons why I backed Federation, that once the Federal constitution had gone through it would no longer be possible for the Colonial Office to make fundamental or vital changes in the territorial constitutions."

The motion was seconded by Dr. Alexander Scott (Independent member for Lusaka) on quite different grounds. He said: "The main ground of my lack of confidence in the Government is their racial policy. This Federal Government has failed to establish better race relations since it started here in Salisbury. It seems to me that unless a *modus vivendi*, satisfactory to all races in the Federation, can be achieved, this Federation will fall. It may prosper to some extent economically, but the experience of Europeans, Africans and Asians living together in harmony which we declared to be our object will not have been achieved . . . I want to come back to the Prime Minister's visit to London when he was asked by a reporter whether he accepted partnership and he said he preferred the word 'co-operation'. I really wondered why (he) bothers about quibbling about things of that sort, why he wants to whittle down the conception of partnership. The only result of that is that it alarms the Africans and causes a great deal of distress to Africans particularly in the north."

Mr. Dendy Young Q.C. (Confederate member for Sebakwe) also supported the motion. He said that there were three fundamental requisites if the Federation were to be a success: "First that we should obtain the general consent of the people throughout the Federation to this system of political organisation, and secondly that there should be an avoidance as far as possible of dissimilarity of structure in the composite territories; and, thirdly, that there should also be an avoidance of outside interference." On the question of consent he went on, "There is possibly less general acceptance of the idea of Federation than there was when it was introduced, and I think that is one of the features in which the government can be regarded as having failed somewhat dismally."

Discussing the question of dominion status, Mr. Young said: "I tell you that this cry for dominion status or common-

wealth status is like reaching for the moon. Before you get it the Protectorates will have to sacrifice their protectorate status and before they sacrifice their protectorate status they are going to require a very liberal—from their point of view—agreed constitution. And do we really think that there is going to be an agreement on this issue?"

Apart from these members almost all other European members supported the Government, though the Rev. Andrew Doig and Mr. J. S. Moffatt (members for African affairs) criticised the Government's racial policies. African members looked upon the debate as a symptom of a disagreement within the Federal Party, though certain of them made critical speeches. Mr. C. R. Kumbikano (Nyasaland) said: "I am neither in favour of nor against this motion. One thing I am pleased about with regard to the mover of this motion and that is that he has enough grasp of affairs to know whether the people on the Government benches are really sincere about bringing about all the promises they made before Federation, and at the same time it has enabled us to know what is passing in the minds of the other people who would like to have a different form of government than the one we have now. But as long as all the other governments, under whatever name they may be, do not have a change of heart and accept the African as a partner and an equal and teach him, if he is not already taught, to bring him up to the same standard as the white man, unless such a government brings forward a policy on these lines, then it is very doubtful whether such a government will succeed."

The Minister of Finance (the Hon. D. Macintyre C.B.E.) replied to the motion on behalf of the Government. He gave figures to show the sound financial position of the Federation and the confidence in it which is shown in other countries. He referred to an American investor who had visited the country and had said that "the Federation has come to be regarded by American investors as one of the ten most suitable countries for investment." On the question of race relations he said, "I think that one ought to remember that the progress of any nation whatever it may be, is judged by the standard of living and the standard of progress of the ordinary people in that country. And I do not think that it can be denied that, even in the matter of race relations with Africans in this country, we have made very considerable progress since the time that Federation was first mooted. I think that there has been an entirely different atmosphere set up in the relationship between the European and the African in the country." (Federal Assembly *Hansard*, March 15–17, 1955.)

AFRICAN BOOK-KEEPING

A recent debate in the Federal Assembly has underlined one of the difficulties to be met with by legislators in a multi-racial, and multi-lingual, society. On April 5 the House considered the question of book-keeping for traders under the Customs and Excise Bill. The bill had originally laid down that book-keeping should be in English, but an amendment was proposed by the Minister of Finance that book-keeping should also be permitted in any other language "which may have been lawful for such purposes in the terms of any Territorial Law." This was in response to a request from Nyasaland where book-keeping in Chinyanja was permitted though English was the only lawful language in the other two territories.

In spite of this it was alleged by various Northern Rhodesian

members that African traders in fact kept their books in their own language, and that if they were forced to keep their books in English, they would have to go out of business. Some members pointed out that if an African trader was capable of dealing with business matters, he must be capable enough to deal with accounting in English, but it was pointed out by Mr. Dendy Young that most of their trading was done with Indian merchants who in turn keep their books in Gujarati or Chinyanja.

However the general opinion in the House was that it was necessary to have only one official language in the Federation, English, and in the end the clause was passed without the suggested amendment, thus making English the lawful language for book-keeping throughout the whole Federation including Nyasaland. The Minister of Finance stated that he would consult with the Nyasaland government again on the matter and undertook to give the whole question further consideration.

MR. VAN EEDEN TO RESIGN

Mr. Guy van Eeden,¹ Independent M.P. for Kafue, said in Lusaka on April 13 that he would resign his seat in the Federal House and contest a by-election as a candidate for a new political party which would be formed before the by-election took place and would probably be called the New Rhodesia Party. Mr. van Eeden said the Federal Party was letting down Northern Rhodesia. It was not trying to tackle the racial question, but was "allowing things to drift until black domination becomes inevitable." (*Federation Newsletter*, April 21, 1955.)

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S VISIT

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, visited Central Africa for the inauguration of the new Anglican Province of Central Africa. At a press conference in Lusaka he expressed the opinion that the really educated and competent African should be given a proper cultural and social position at once. But he said that he would be very sorry if legislation were introduced to make the colour bar in public places an offence. Legislation was either entirely oppressive or else it jumped fences before it got to them.

"The tragedy of South Africa is that instead of treating the problem as a social welfare problem they isolated it and gave it an ideology. As soon as you do that you distort the problem and make the final solution impossible."

He was not prepared to say that he and the Minister of Native Affairs in South Africa, handling the problem, might not in a good number of things adopt the same temporary solution. But there would be two quite different ideologies behind it which in due course would lead to quite different results. Africa had much less time to solve its racial problems than Britain had taken to even out its social levels. The colour question in Africa today was similar to the social problems which had faced Britain for 200 years and which had taken that time to solve.

The world and particularly Africa were moving more quickly now, and the problem must therefore be worked out in much less time. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 19, 1955.)

Reporting the same press conference, the *Central African Post* (April 18, 1955) said that Dr. Fisher agreed that with

some Europeans there was a physical repulsion against colour—"in the same way that Lord Roberts couldn't stay in the same room with a cat." He added, "I think that such a repulsion is the result of social distinctions which finally resolve themselves in this way."

The *Post's* correspondent asked the Archbishop a final question: "What would Christ say if he came to Northern Rhodesia today?" Dr. Fisher smiled and replied: "If Christ came to Northern Rhodesia, or to London, or anywhere else today, He would say practically nothing about the kind of exciting questions of politics and social questions that face us. He said nothing about such matters when He was in Palestine, and there were very acute questions then—even the question of self-government between the Jews and the Romans . . ."

The Archbishop's latter statement was criticised by the President of the African Congress, Mr. Nkumbula, who said that he was shocked, and that "if Christ came to Northern Rhodesia, the first thing He would do would be to go into the pulpit and denounce the discriminatory practices which abound everywhere. He would mix with the Africans, and set an example . . ." (*Central African Post*, April 22, 1955.)

Mr. J. C. Houghton, on being shown Mr. Nkumbula's statement before publication, said it had not been possible in the condensed form in which the question and answer appeared in the newspaper, to give the whole of the Archbishop's reply. And in the course of what he thought to be a fair summary of the reply, said that "problems which we tend to think of as being peculiar to Northern Rhodesia are not really so; they are the same problems which occur everywhere. And they are not really problems peculiar to these times; they are problems which have been present in every age . . . It follows then, that problems in this country today and problems in Palestine 2,000 years ago are both problems of human frailty and are fundamentally the same . . . Though Christ refused to enter into the controversies of those days, what He did do, always, was to draw to men's attention the basic, fundamental principles of conduct, knowing that if men learnt and observed these, all things else would fall into place, and the problems troubling men would in time resolve themselves."

In Salisbury, the Archbishop said the British Commonwealth knew more of how to solve the problem of racial harmony in terms of justice and goodwill than any other organisation. "Do not listen to advice from outside the Federation, and do not listen to people outside who try to tell you how to solve your problems. You can listen to the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of course, because that is what he is there for."

"I am glad to say that when Federation was adopted in the House of Lords, I spoke in favour of it. . . ." Dr. Fisher said he had discovered the only thing that mattered was the spiritual incentive. Many people thought that material things were important. "But they are not important at all. If you take them by themselves, they cause disorder. Only if you take them on a spiritual basis do they become of benefit to mankind." (*Pretoria News*, April 29, 1955.)

IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE

The Rhodesia Immigration Institute has been formed in Salisbury with the object of securing a European population of 3 million in the Federation by 1980.¹ The Federation has been admitted to the inter-governmental committee for European

¹See Digest Vol. II, No. 7.

²The present European population is approx. 280,000.

migration at Geneva. *The Times* (April 29, 1955) while referring to the great need of the Federation of professional, technical and skilled help "when it embarks upon the great hydro-electric scheme at the Kariba Gorge", voiced a warning that "to flood Central Africa unselectively with European immigrants could do harm. The Rhodesian tradition is based on the European community being drawn from British stock with high educational qualifications. This is one of the reasons why racial pressures have been kept reasonably moderated. It would be dangerous to lower the standard. Friction tends to be greatest when European and African are competing for jobs." The editorial described "the most essential qualification for any European entering Africa" as "the capacity for getting on well with Africans."

Large-scale immigration would not be in the interests of the Federation, said Mr. N. St. Quintin, Chairman of the Central African Textile Manufacturers' Association, addressing the first annual general meeting in Salisbury. The cry had gone forth from cabinet ministers and other responsible people in every walk of life, and from irresponsible people, too, that mass immigration was essential if the European was to survive, said Mr. St. Quintin. Industry, however, had to compete with goods produced in any part of the world. Competition was becoming fiercer.

"I would ask those people who are continually beating the immigration drum, how we could ever hope to compete if we had to employ those thousands of Europeans with their high standard of living and high wages," said Mr. St. Quintin. The Federation's Native population was its greatest asset, and the "cold hard fact is that the Native is here, and the best must be made of him if either of us is to survive." With careful and patient training, coupled with the closest supervision, the Native could be instructed in various operations in every industry, with a sufficiently reasonable amount of efficiency, said Mr. St. Quintin. With the skill and guidance of the European, the Native could be "moulded into the economic cog in the industrial wheel," and contribute his share in manufacturing processes. This would assist industrialists to meet and, in certain instances, beat competition from any part of the world where living conditions were similar. (*Rhodesian Herald*, March 16, 1955.)

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OPENING DELAYED

As it is clear that sufficient progress cannot be made with any of the buildings, academic as well as residential, and in particular the library, to make them reasonably habitable for students in 1956, the council of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland "has reluctantly decided to postpone the date when teaching for degree courses will begin, from March 1956 to March 1957."

During a visit to Central Africa, Dr. Walter Adams, the Principal designate¹ addressed the Rhodesia National Affairs Association and said: "I see for myself a chance on Mount Pleasant of creating a real university of quite first-class standards to do all that others have done and are doing." The college could be a centre of research to which men would come from all over the world for what it could offer in botany, medicine, history and other subjects. "Of course we are going to be inter-racial—we are going to be a university," he declared. "I do not know of any university worthy of the name

which is not inter-racial." (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 12, 1955.)

The statement made by Mr. Douglas Dodds-Parker, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in a letter to the Africa Bureau recently², to the effect that post-matriculation classes are being introduced in the three High Commission Territories "so that African students can qualify for admission to the new University College at Salisbury", has aroused suspicion, according to the *Rhodesia Herald* (March 12, 1955) "that the generous gift of a million and a quarter sterling" from the British Government "had strings attached to it, meaning an undue proportion of non-European students." The editorial added that "on general principles it would be to the good to afford opportunities to the High Commission and other territories", but to allay fears called for "some estimate of the number (of African students) which may come from beyond the Federation's borders and an assurance that this number will be so regulated that it will not be at the expense of would-be students within the Federation and so will not jeopardise public support."

The *Central African Post* (April 6, 1955), after describing the response by the public to appeals for funds for the University as "disappointing", commented that "it has certainly not been helped by the British Government's announcement that the college 'would be used' to accommodate students from the Protectorates. Whether with ulterior motive or not, this has been seized upon by opponents of racial partnership to mean that the grant received 'has strings to it' and that Whitehall intends that there will be a massive influx of Africans. This is not in accordance with the facts as we know them. Africans will indeed be accepted on their merits, but the standards will be so high that few at first will be likely to qualify, and there will be no 'swamping'."

The Umtali Town Council wrote to the University expressing fear that if the University was flooded with "outside" Africans, it would become a completely Native university. It asked for clarification of the position, and said it would pay the University no more of the £1,000 it had promised until the matter was cleared up. In a reply to the Umtali Town Council, the University Council said that the University had been set up to cater primarily for the local population, and when it opened they would form the large majority of the student body. But in terms of the Royal Charter given to it, the University cannot, if it is to live up to the internationally recognised standards befitting a university institution, refuse to consider the acceptance of students from outside the borders of the Federation, subject to prior claims of Rhodesians. If outside students are accepted, there is no reason to suppose they will all be Africans, or that they will all be Europeans. It had always been hoped that a few students might be accepted from South Africa, perhaps to take a course of study in some subject in which the Rhodesian University was at the time pre-eminent in Southern Africa. This might partly repay the debt that Rhodesia owed to the Union for allowing Rhodesians to use South African universities. The University was quite autonomous under the terms of the Royal Charter, and if it did accept outside students would do so at its own discretion and not under dictation from any outside authority. The reply concluded that the number of students from Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland is not likely to be large; the Council had been informed that it was unlikely there would be more than ten

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 8.

²*Ibid.*

qualified Africans a year at the most from these territories seeking admission to the University. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 13, 1955.)

Northern Rhodesia

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST'S PROPOSALS¹

THE Rhodesian Selection Trust's proposals for the advancement of the Africans in their mines on the Copper Belt were reported in the *Central African Post* of February 4, 1955. These divided types of work affected into three groups. The first consisted of the least skilled jobs now done by Europeans and those done by Europeans in some mines and by Africans in others. These would be transferred to the African schedule and rates would be negotiated with the African union. The second or intermediate type of job would be open to Europeans and Africans though Europeans would normally qualify for higher grades. Pay would be fixed by reference to European rates and would be negotiated first with the European union and then with the African. The next grade, the top schedule, would also be fully open to Africans and would attract all the pay and emoluments at present enjoyed by the Europeans in the jobs except housing. The proposals state that there should be no numerical limitation of employees entering the intermediate schedule or reaching the top schedule, since such limitation would tend to perpetuate the colour bar.

The rates of pay in the African schedule would begin at 2s. 8d. per shift and rise to 13s. 6d. The intermediate schedule would begin at 14s. 3d. a shift and rise to 40s. The top schedule would commence at 46s. 6d. a shift. The rates in the intermediate schedule would be calculated on the basis of a certain degree of fragmentation of jobs.

The Company guarantees that, if the proposals are accepted, no European employee will lose his employment or suffer a reduction in pay and that no job in the intermediate schedule shall be filled until the person involved is fully capable of carrying out the full duties.

The Company goes on to say that there should be 237 intermediate jobs at Mufulira and 191 at Roan. The number of jobs falling within the African schedule would be 37 at Mufulira and 13 at Roan. 170 Europeans would be displaced at Mufulira and 147 at Roan. Of these 118 would be promoted and other jobs found for the remaining 199. The Company concluded by saying:

"Our endeavour has been to arrive at a lasting solution which . . . will form a complete job structure or schedule with all the necessary steps, so that it need not be the subject of any revision or further negotiation for the purpose of providing opportunities for African advancement."

Commenting on these proposals, the *Central African Post* (February 7, 1955) stated that the plan "gives a lead not only to the copper industry but to industry in the whole of the Federation. It would if adopted provide the means for African advancement without a call being made to the Europeans for concessions at each stage of the African's progress. This we consider one of its main features. As things are today, provision for each step forward the African makes has to be negotiated with the European. This MUST give the European the

¹Details of points outlined in *DIGEST* Vol. II, No. 8.

feeling that for each such African step he has to give away something; and it is this feeling which, in our opinion, is largely responsible for the difficulties born of suspicion, which have characterised relations between the mining companies and the European Union since the Dalglish Report was published in 1948."

PAY RATES FOR EUROPEANS ON THE COPPERBELT

The average yearly pay of a European miner in Northern Rhodesia is £1,822. These figures, according to the Central African Statistical Office, include basic pay, overtime, cost-of-living allowances and other bonuses. In Northern Rhodesia, the basic monthly rate is £110 for a European underground worker and £98 for a surface worker. During the last five years, wages for underground workers have increased by 49 per cent and for surface workers by 58 per cent. (*Federation Newsletter*, April 29, 1955.)

SOUTH AFRICAN MINeworkers UNION AND THE COPPERBELT

£5,000 has been given by the Mineworkers Union of South Africa to the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers Union to help in "its struggle to maintain European standards". This was announced in Johannesburg by Mr. D. E. Ellis, General Secretary of the South African Union. He said that the Union would vote further sums in accordance with its pledge to support "financially, morally and otherwise" the Northern Rhodesian union in the event of any actions which the latter might be forced to take to protect white workers in the copper mining industry. We in South Africa are fortunate in having a Nationalist Government which, I think, is here to stay. Our government's policy is to protect the European and to safeguard his job against unfair competition from the African, whereas the Northern Rhodesian Government and the Colonial Office want to advance the African too rapidly." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 16, 1955.)

Mr. Ellis later announced that a joint liaison committee consisting of representatives of both unions had been formed after a conference in Johannesburg. In an interview he said that the struggle of the Northern Rhodesian union "against the exploitation of cheap African labour in the guise of African advancement is as much our business as theirs. If the mining groups in Northern Rhodesia are successful in enforcing African advancement, then the same thing can happen here. It is far better keeping the enemy at bay on our borders by supporting the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers Union than to be faced with similar issues here . . . Once the pressure for African advancement has been established then there can be no holding back. If an African is given even the slightest degree of advancement beyond the status of an unskilled worker, he will demand the opportunity to go to the very top—in the mining industry he will want to rise even to managerial status." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 21, 1955.)

These developments were severely criticised by Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Minister of Transport and Communications, who said:—

"The Federal Government is not directly concerned with trade union matters in the Federation nor do we want to interfere with the legitimate affairs of any other organisation. No reasonable person will quarrel with the desire of one trade

union to assist another, and in fact this is a regular feature of trade union relations throughout the world. But it is time someone told Mr. Ellis to mind his own business because his statement . . . went far beyond the bounds of trade union interests." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 22, 1955.)

The Broken Hill branch of the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union at a special meeting demanded that the £5,000 voted to their union by the Mineworkers' Union of South Africa to aid in "the struggle to maintain European standards" be not accepted, and has called upon the union executive to issue a statement of policy without delay . . . Members of the Broken Hill branch said after the meeting that they were "fed up with the South African Union's interference." "We don't want outside interference either from overseas or this continent," said one. "We can manage our own affairs. We are sensible people and do not want others to tell us what to do. If we need money we can raise it ourselves, and we refuse to be bought by the South African Mineworkers' Union for £5,000." (*The Times*, April 27, 1955.)

A special correspondent of *The Times* (May 4, 1955) said that "in Northern Rhodesia present signs are that the intervention of the South African trade union may have the opposite effect from that intended. Prominent local figures have taken a determined attitude on the question, and letters from readers published in local newspapers have deplored the action of the Copperbelt union leaders as being reckless and dangerous . . . Reaction to the Copperbelt developments has been largely to condemn the intervention of South African interests, but this is not to say that there are not determined men—in trade unions, in industry, and in the Confederate political party—who welcome the Copperbelt mine union's action, and who regard it as part of the wider defence of the interests of the white artisan against the threat of African competition in industry, which it is commonly assumed would follow any relaxation of the colour bar as it now operates in the copper mines. The leader of the unofficial members in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature, Mr. John Roberts, has made an impression by his bold condemnation of the Copperbelt union leaders' action."

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The Northern Rhodesia Government is appointing a committee to investigate the extent to which racial discrimination is practised in shops, hotels and other similar business premises in Northern Rhodesia and to recommend in the light of its findings what action should be taken. This was decided in the Legislative Assembly by twenty-one votes to three, and was proposed by the Chief Secretary, Mr. A. T. Williams, in the form of an amendment to a motion by Mr. P. Sokota (African Member) calling for the introduction of legislation to ban colour bar practices. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 25, 1955).

MORE EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICANS ON RAILWAYS RECOMMENDED

Among many far-reaching recommendations for increasing the efficiency of the Rhodesia Railways, made in the report of the British Committee investigating the Railways, is the following: "To alleviate the staff position, we consider it imperative to examine the possibility of employing African labour on other than highly-skilled work, where this will

release European labour for positions which are now understaffed." (*Central African Post*, April 11, 1955.)

CONGRESS POLICY

In a speech at Chibolya, after his release from prison,¹ the President-General of the N.R. African Congress, Mr. H. Nkumbula, described a colonial government as one "imposed upon an unwilling indigenous people by a foreign power. It is in essence a tyrannous rule in the interests of a single class of colonists. It is a kind of government unjustly favourable to the white settlers . . ." He suggested an abolition of the present system of African representation in the Federal Parliament, and the introduction instead of adult suffrage with both Europeans and Africans on a Common Voters' Roll.

In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, the National Executive of Congress, referred to a promise by the previous Secretary of State that there should be constitutional reforms before the end of the present Legislative Council's life, and made the following demand:—

"That there be:—

- (a) Enfranchisement of British Protected Persons.
- (b) A lowered Income or Property qualification to £50 and £100 respectively.
- (c) A single Common Roll for Black and White.
- (d) A House of Representatives with a total of thirty seats and whose membership shall be entirely elective.
- (e) A Cabinet of ten Ministers—Parity in the Cabinet.
- (f) A Prime Minister—Black or White—elected from the Members of the Party in power.
- (g) The Queen shall be represented by a Governor."

The Executive noted that in the event of the House of Representatives being dominated by members of either race, there would be a safeguard in the parity in the Cabinet. "This, the Congress considers, would bring about peace and harmony between Africans and Europeans in Northern Rhodesia." (March 7, 1955.)

In a tour of the Eastern Province, strong condemnation of the actions of local African Congress leaders was expressed by Mr. Nkumbula, who also condemned the demonstrations by the youth leagues, the singing of anti-European songs and the wearing of red and black uniforms. He expressed disapproval of any opposition to agricultural development and stressed the need for responsible action by all members of the Congress, and the value of economic development. (*Central African Post*, April 15, 1955.)

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

In the House of Commons, Mr. J. Hynd asked the Colonial Secretary when it was proposed that one or more Africans should be appointed to the Northern Rhodesian Executive Council. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that he did not consider the time had yet come when such an appointment could be made with advantage. Mr. Hynd referred to the appointment of two Africans to the Executive Council in Tanganyika, and Mr. Lennox-Boyd said it would be a very great mistake to assume that the pattern of development in one territory must necessarily be followed in another.

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 7.

Southern Rhodesia

ADVICE TO FARMERS ON LABOUR CONDITIONS

A WARNING to tobacco farmers that they might have to consider changing the labour conditions of their African employees, with big development schemes starting and competition becoming more intense, was given by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, in Salisbury. He contrasted the idea of security of tenure in big new Government housing schemes in the towns with the migratory life of the African on the farm, where there was every possibility, when his working life was finished, of no land for living on, no property to buy, and of not being able to go back to the Reserves. "It seems high time that we, as a Government, and those vitally interested do more research on African labour and conditions," the Prime Minister said.

The migratory form of contract—involving one or two years of work in different places—did not help towards growing capable and efficient. Nearly 7,000 Nyasaland Africans had been indentured in the Colony last year, and it was hoped that more would come this year. There had also been a free flow of about 40,000 Nyasaland Africans last year.

The Prime Minister pointed out that almost every other part of the Commonwealth was free of legal penalties for breaking agreements. Southern and Northern Rhodesia were not very well thought of in this respect, but critics did not realise that under the same legislation employers were also liable to penalties for not fulfilling their responsibilities. "We can do no other than keep those sanctions and in the meantime look forward to the time when labour conditions are improved." (*Federation Newsletter*, March 30, 1955.)

BIG AFRICAN HOUSING PLAN FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA

A scheme to build in Southern Rhodesia 6,000 houses for purchase by African families, in Salisbury and Bulawayo, at a cost of nearly £2 million, within the next two years was outlined at a press conference by the Prime Minister in Salisbury. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 9, 1955.)

KINDNESS IN RACE RELATIONS

It was time that a little more ordinary kindness was introduced in race relations in place of prejudice and fear, said Mr. Garfield Todd, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. "Over the years," he said, "we have found so many good reasons why we should not consider the African as our neighbour. In colour, in language, in background, in outlook, the African is so different from us, but I believe that race relations is the major problem with which we are faced today. It is possible," Mr. Todd continued, "for Governments to do a great deal. Governments can build houses, provide medical facilities, and meet educational needs . . . Governments, however, can do very little about some of the most important things concerning race relations and especially I refer to attitudes—the attitude of the peoples, one to another."

It was one thing to speak of the importance of mutual respect between races, Mr. Todd said, and quite another thing in every-

day life to show in any degree the respect which was so glibly said to be necessary for improving race relations. There were many Europeans who found it seemingly impossible to speak to an African in a normal voice. Great damage was done to future race relations, often thoughtlessly, by people who in no way benefited themselves from their unreadiness to be even normally pleasant with African people . . . People who rode roughshod over the feelings of Africans failed to recognise that Africans had feelings at all and they never stopped to think what might be the reaction in the hearts of the African people.

"I presume," said the Prime Minister, "that they do not know that African mothers teach their children to keep out of the way of these white people who seem to have no feelings and no understanding. The average African fully expects to receive little consideration but, when he does receive courteous treatment, he usually responds to it in a way which is most rewarding." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 21, 1955.)

EUROPEAN MINeworkERS REDEFINE POLICY TOWARDS NON-EUROPEANS

European mineworkers in Southern Rhodesia had no intention of trying to stop Africans or any other race from attaining the level of jobs of European mineworkers, said a statement issued by the President of the Associated Mineworkers of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Howard Bloomfield, at the Association's annual meeting. But the European mineworkers were determined that so far as possible Africans would receive the rate for the job now being paid to Europeans. The attitude would be the same if Europeans themselves attempted to undercut the rate. (*Pretoria News*, April 1955.)

Nyasaland

CHANGES IN NORTHERN RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

COMMENTING on proposed constitutional changes in Nyasaland the *Central African Post* said: "Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are no longer territories in which the Colonial Office is free to do whatever it thinks best. They are now parts of a federal machine. If the machine is to work successfully the parts must fit.

"Constitutional changes in Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia are, therefore, as much the concern of the Federal Government as of the two territories themselves and the Colonial Office. If the Federal Government has valid grounds for thinking that proposed changes will alter its component parts to a shape that will not fit the machine, then it has a duty to object to the changes. What is more, the Colonial Office must pay heed to the objections and, we submit, that in circumstances such as these it is the wishes of the Government with responsibility for the whole machine—not the wishes of the Colonial Office for one of the parts—that must prevail."

COMMENTS BY NYASALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS

Commenting on the concern shown amongst certain Europeans in the Federation on the political changes, the Nyasaland African Congress in a press statement said:—

"When the Federation scheme was suggested, the Africans opposed it because they rightly believed that it would affect their political advancement and would bring about European political domination over the Africans. The British Government refuted these contentions as having been unfounded and based on fears and suspicions . . . It is bewildering to read in the papers the opposition of irresponsible (European) leaders on the proposed constitutional changes for the Protectorate. The Africans now realise the tragedy which Federation has brought upon them which they had foreseen during the Federation discussions.

AFRICAN CONGRESS HOLD ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

At the meeting of the Nyasaland African Congress at Lilongwe from April 8-11, Mr. J. F. Sangala, President-General, was Chairman. Two Federal M.P.s, Messrs. W. M. Chirwa and C. K. Kumbikano, and two African members of the Legislative Council were present. Among the resolutions passed were the following:—

Political Status. "Nyasaland is an African State and Conference demands immediate democratic self-government for Africans in which the rights of the minorities shall be constitutionally protected. Further Conference declares in no uncertain terms that it is not the desire of the African people to oust other communities who reside in the Protectorate and therefore calls upon the British Government to make a categorical declaration confirming that Nyasaland is an African State and occupies the same status as Uganda Protectorate.

"This Conference categorically reaffirms its determined opposition to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and desires that the Nyasaland Protectorate be extracted from the Federal Scheme."

Repressive Laws. The attention of the Government was drawn to the following laws:—

- (i) Inter-territorial Movement of Persons Law;
- (ii) Regulations restricting the collection of funds and the freedom of holding meetings;
- (iii) Curfew Regulations in townships."

The Conference called for their immediate abolition.

Local Government. "All members of the District Councils should be Africans and apart from Native Authorities who shall be *ex-officio* members, all other members of the District and other councils should be elected by the African people themselves by direct popular vote . . . The time has now come that all chairmen, secretaries and treasurers of District Councils should be Africans and all Committees be appointed by the councils themselves . . . There should be direct African representation on the Town Councils."

Marketing of African Produce and Co-operative Societies. In view of "the disadvantages and exploitation which Africans suffer due to inadequate prices paid to them by Statutory Boards set up by the Government," such boards should "be abolished forthwith and . . . Africans should be allowed to sell their produce freely to buyers without any restrictions and control by Government through the existing boards. Further, Conference calls upon Government to encourage the establishment of Producers' Co-operative Societies for all African produce in all districts in the Produce Protectorate.

"Conference deplores the present horrible conditions and treatment meted out to African tenants on European estates and the exploitation which prevails and impoverishes them as their produce is bought by estate owners at cheap rate and Conference calls upon Government to abolish the tenancy system immediately in order to improve the lot of the Africans.

"Conference desires to inform Government of the dissatisfaction of the African people by converting Kota Kota Co-operative Society into a Company and thus depriving Africans of full participation in the management and control of such a venture. Conference therefore urges Government to abolish the constitution of the Company at Kota Kota and reintroduce the Producers' Co-operative Society as it existed before and that all employees be Africans."

Transfer of African Trust Land. "In view of the frequent transfer of African Trust Land into public land under African Trust Land Order-in-Council," the African Trust Land Order-in-Council should be "repealed forthwith and no African Trust Land should henceforth be so transferred under any circumstances whatsoever either for the settlement of European immigrants or any other purpose and any land so previously transferred should be converted to African Trust Land. Further, Conference is opposed to the federalisation of European Agriculture as the land on which such agriculture is practised is land belonging to Africans, as the Europeans do not own any land in this country. Consequently, Conference demands that all land occupied by Europeans be returned to Africans as there is no legal proof of ownership or occupation of such land."

African Education. Numerous resolutions were passed calling for more and better education facilities for girls as well as boys, a pension scheme for teachers and bursaries for higher education.

Appreciation of United Nations. Conference also recorded "its deep appreciation of the work done in the United Nations and in other forums, by the Asian and African nations, and calls upon other nations to follow suit and to purge themselves of superiority complex and examine their stand in colonial politics in the United Nations and join those nations which have taken courage to point out to the world that human dignity, rights and wants irrespective of colour, race or creed, are more important than the manufacture of deadly weapons to exterminate mankind under the pretext of suppressing this or that ideology . . ." It welcomed "the Afro-Asian nations' conference in Indonesia and calls upon all nations which have pledged themselves to help under-developed countries to offer practical aid in the form of scholarships, loans and other development funds to enable them to grow into full nationhood." (Press Statement from the Nyasaland African Congress, April 8-11, 1955.)

TALKS ON CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Geoffrey Colby, paid a short visit to London to discuss the proposed constitutional changes for Nyasaland with the Colonial Secretary.¹ No announcement will be made by the British Government until after Parliament reassembles.

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 8.

EAST AFRICA

Somaliland

BACKGROUND TO A GRIEVANCE

THE Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement which came into force in March this year has given rise to bitterness amongst the Somali people in British Somaliland.

The question at issue is one of conflicting promises made by Britain at a time when the map of Africa was still full of blanks, and—as always with twice-promised lands—retribution has set in. The complication is the greater because both the parties involved are good friends of Britain. One consists of Somali tribes which in 1884 and 1886 voluntarily placed themselves under British protection and undertook in return, never to cede their lands to any other government.

The other party concerned is the Emperor of Ethiopia, neighbour to Kenya and the Sudan and proprietor of the sources of the Blue Nile, with whose forerunner, the Emperor Menelik, the British Government reached in 1897 a frontier treaty that left some of the Somalis' seasonal grazing grounds in Ethiopia; by an exchange of letters, it provided that the British Somaliland tribes moving inland should have the right to use their traditional wells and grazing grounds across the frontier.

For almost the whole of the period between then and the Italian war of 1935, the Ethiopian Government never administered the desert lands in question, and British officers followed and administered the tribes on their annual migrations over the border. But the Somalis never liked the 1897 treaty and more than once they protested against it.

After the liberation of Ethiopia and Somalia from Italy, the British retained controls that included management of a Reserved Area which was in effect the Somali grazing grounds—25,000 miles in area and inhabited by about 300,000 people. From 1946 onwards, the British Government has been trying, abortively, to satisfy the Somalis' requirements either by exchanging this tract for a corridor at the north-west end of British Somaliland, and thereby giving Ethiopia the port of Zeila, or alternatively by leasing the area, or by extending the *status quo*. But the Ethiopian Government would have none of these things. Therefore the 1897 treaty remains binding, and by the new Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement which has now come into force, the area reverts to Ethiopian management.

The Somalis are aghast. Through the mouth of a dignified delegation that has been touring London, they have made a case that suggests that the British Government did far too little to prepare them for the possibility that the 1897 treaty would prove unalterable. They are a protected people with only an advisory council to represent them, and they say that this has steadily been assured by its British Governor that all would come right in the end. (*The Economist*, March 5, 1955.)

APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

A copy of a petition to the United Nations praying that the British Government's action in returning the 25,000 square miles of territory in the British Somaliland Protectorate to Ethiopia be referred to the International Court of Justice was delivered to the Colonial Secretary on May 5, 1955.

One of the members of the delegation, Mr. Michael

Mariano, speaking at a press conference in London, said that the British decision to abide by the Anglo-Ethiopian treaty had been taken without consultation with the Protectorate's Advisory Council. The country had received no more than five weeks' notice of the intention to hand over the Haud (the area of land concerned).

Half the population of 650,000 made use of the Haud—the best grazing land in the territory—under a nomadic system of herding their animals. Mr. Mariano said that his people felt no sense of security under an Ethiopian régime, in spite of the terms of the transfer.

"We would be like guests in our own house. Our land has been handed to the Ethiopians on a plate," he said. The Ethiopian occupation on February 28 had been accompanied by a show of force. There had been a sweep of fighter aircraft and armoured cars had been used. Since then six tribal policemen had been arrested, but later released, without reasonable explanation. In Somaliland itself there were some 500 Somali political refugees from Ethiopia. The Somalis, he said, at all costs desired to remain under British administration pending their eventual independence. (*The Times*, May 6, 1955.)

The following day, *The Times* commented: "The problem as the international lawyers will no doubt discover if ever they are given a chance to debate it, is complicated. It is made more complicated by the fact that this is not the only frontier dividing one group of Somali tribesmen from another. Italian Somaliland is a trustee territory; French Somaliland is a part of the French Union; there are Somalis in Kenya and in other districts of Ethiopia. Agitation for a political union between these tribes has been heard and, although the tribes are for the most part scattered and backward, a grievance such as this fosters political consciousness . . . If the British Government are convinced that nothing more can usefully be done for the Somalis, they should use their influence to restrain the Somalis' hopes and forestall their inevitable disappointment. But if there is any chance that the International Court could throw new light on the rights of these protected peoples, it is the duty of the British Government, as the protecting power, to sponsor their appeal. There is no doubt about the practical reality of their grievance."

Kenya

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON March 16, Mr. A. G. Bottomley (Labour) asked what was the position of the British Government on land policy for Kenya. Three European elected members of the Kenya Council of Ministers had stated, while the report of the Royal Commission on Land Use in East Africa was still in preparation, that they would allow no changes to be made in the White Highlands. Mr. Bottomley said that if the White Highlands were to be a permanent reserve for Europeans it would be impossible to get the support of the Africans, and he suggested that an integrated scheme of education was the only way to secure a genuine multi-racial society in Kenya. He asked whether a common electoral roll could be introduced, and African political organisations encouraged. Had a general amnesty for all detainees been considered, or the appointment of a Resident Minister in Kenya? As Britain is providing

£14 million out of £16 million to be spent on the emergency, the British have the right to know how it is being dealt with.

Mr. Bernard Braine (Conservative) said that it was not true to say that all the African leaders in Kenya were now in detention camps. There were two serious problems; the detribalised African living in squalor in towns, and the very inefficient farming methods of rural Africans. The task was to provide a satisfying status for a man. The squatter system should be abolished, and the Africans given a real stake in the land. There is an acute shortage of experts in surveying, water engineering and agriculture.

Mr. Fenner Brockway (Labour) pointed out that the Kikuyu Reserve was so overcrowded, with 440 to 1,000 people to the square mile, that the best farming methods could not produce enough food to feed them all.

Mr. C. J. M. Alport (Conservative) said that this was the moment to give a new direction of policy to Kenya. There were two alternatives; a policy of retribution was hopeless. "... as the emergency goes on with the rough justice ... which any emergency entails for all races and in this case, particularly for Africans, bitterness is bound to increase ... The tribal memory—the clan and family memory—of the African is very long, and what we do not want to do is to feed that memory with continued bitterness." The alternative is a policy of reconciliation, and efforts should be made to bring about a surrender of most of the Mau Mau. Operations against the Mau Mau should be transferred from the military to the police as soon as practicable. It was vital to return all those who had been cleared, yet were still in detention, to normal life as quickly as possible. It was excellent that many Europeans were willing to take back their former Kikuyu employees who had been detained. There must be a new programme to give the Africans a higher standard of living; nothing was more important than the provision of water. He added that it was a great mistake to deal with the land problem either as a political question, or on narrow regional lines. The European community in Kenya should give a lead without waiting for the report of the Royal Commission.

Mr. James Johnson (Labour) looked forward to the time when Africans could elect their own representatives. "Until we have in Kenya a feeling among Africans that people chosen openly by themselves are to be their leaders, we cannot say that we have on our side loyal Africans who will co-operate freely and fully." He said: "There are in the Kiambu location about 40,000 Kikuyu on forty square miles. That is simply appalling, and we have to find some place for these people to go." It might be necessary to go to Tanganyika and Uganda for more land; emigration into the White Highlands would not settle the problem, although it would have a good psychological and political effect if some Africans were allowed to enter them as tenant farmers. The screening of detainees, and the release of those who had been cleared, should be hastened. What was to happen to the "hard core" of the Mau Mau? They should not be allowed to return among the Kikuyu, as they would be sure to pay off old scores against the people who were on our side. He would like to see an experiment in election by a "common roll" carried out, perhaps in Mombasa or in East Nairobi.

Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following points: the report of the Royal Commission would appear shortly, and in the meantime nothing

could be said about Land Policy. Mr. W. F. Coutts had arrived in Kenya to make a report on methods of returning Africans to the Legislative Council.¹ It was quite unnecessary to send a Resident Minister to Kenya, and the Government were not going to send another Parliamentary delegation, but a delegation from the Kenya Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was coming to Britain. The case of trade union leaders in detention had been carefully considered; forty-five were arrested, and it has been possible to release only eighteen. At present no people who have been cleared are still detained, but there are 6,000 still waiting for screening. By June there will be works camps for 90,600 people; effective rehabilitation can be carried out in them. As long as anybody was irreconcilable he would not be allowed to return to his former home. There has been an inquiry into judicial conduct under Mr. Justice Holmes, and one into screening camps by Sir Vincent Glenday; as a result of his report, suspects cannot now be held for more than twenty-four hours by the Kikuyu Guard; after twenty-four hours they must be released, or transferred to a centre under European control.

The Kikuyu Guard is to be transferred to the tribal police, the tribal police reserve, and a special watch and ward group. More experts were being recruited to help with the development of agriculture; of the ninety-five required for the Swynnerton² plan, sixty-three had been found. "We hope to raise in fifteen years the African tea acreage from 41 acres to 12,000 acres, the coffee acreage from 3,000 acres to 71,000 acres, to double the cotton acreage and to raise the pyrethrum production from 1,000 to 48,000 acres." Advances were being made in education. Sixty-eight of the 136 independent schools which had been closed were now reopened. There were 2,300 African teachers in training, as against 1,600 in 1952, and a new African women's training college was being built. The new technical and trade school for Africans at Kwale and the multi-racial Royal Technical College at Nairobi would both be opened this year. The Central Housing Board has received a loan of £2 million from the Colonial Development Corporation, which is to be spent on housing schemes in Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru.

ADVERSE TRADE BALANCE FOR KENYA

Exports from Kenya in 1954 were valued at £20½ million, an increase of £750,000 from the previous year. The value of tea exported rose by more than £1 million, but exports of coffee and sisal were down in value. The exports of sodium carbonate and of maize increased; but there was an adverse trade balance of £40,350,000. (*The Times*, March 23, 1955.)

LOAN FOR EAST AFRICAN TRANSPORT

The World Bank has lent 24 million dollars (about £8½ million) to the East African High Commission, to help develop railways, roads and harbours. Most of the equipment needed will be bought in the United Kingdom. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, March 16, 1955.)

THE MOMBASA STRIKE

The entire casual labour force of 4,000 and 1,700 monthly labourers came out on strike at the Mombasa docks on March 4. *The East African Standard* said that the reason for the

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 6.

²See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 2.

strike did not seem to be known. There had been talk of discontent due to the increased cost of living, in January. The employers had then said that they were willing to consider a memorandum but none had been presented.

Mr. Tom Mboya, Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Trade Unions advised the strikers to return to work and put their demands through the Joint Industrial Council, and African Members of the Legislative Council also urged the workers to negotiate properly through their Union. The strike came to an end on March 9. The employers made an interim offer of 6d. a shift and the claim for 2s. a shift was to go to arbitration. *The East African Standard* praised Mr. Mboya for his good sense, and said that this, along with the actions of the authorities, had brought the strike to an end.

A correspondent in *The Spectator* (March 25, 1955) said: "The strong man of the hour was undoubtedly Mr. Tom Mboya, who, after a series of mass meetings, persuaded the men to return to work. He has also completely overhauled and strengthened trades union structure at the port. Had he been called in earlier he might have short-circuited the agitators and kept the men at work under promise of arbitration. Tom Mboya, who recently said that settler agitation against the surrender offer to Mau Mau 'made him sick', is rapidly becoming the most significant African outside the legislature since Jomo Kenyatta."

MAU MAU REALLY IS A RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Mr. E. Carey Francis, principal of the Alliance High School, Kikuyu, Kenya, said in an address in London: "Mau Mau is evil through and through and has done immense harm to African and European. But it is a resistance movement. Once you grant that Europeans are enemy invaders, that they have stolen African land, are holding Africans down, are fattening themselves on African labour and possessions, the stage is set for a resistance movement. These things are taken for granted by the great majority of Africans in Kenya today. They are untrue, but the persistent propaganda of unscrupulous men has planted them firmly in African minds. This propaganda, emanating chiefly from K.A.U. (the Kenya African Union) feeds upon the genuine grievances: the discourtesy of many Europeans (I put this first), land shortage, low wages, and bad housing in towns . . . Like resistance movements in the war, Mau Mau fights not only European invaders, but, even more fiercely, African collaborators. Its great appeal is to the unity of the Kikuyu tribe . . . It is an immensely powerful appeal to a good side of a man's nature, and when it is reinforced by the appeal to fear, only the strongest stand out . . .

"We shall never destroy Mau Mau by killing gangsters or imprisoning oath-takers: we shall destroy it only by disposing of the foundation on which it all rests, by showing that we are not enemy invaders."

Speaking of the genuine Christians among the Kikuyu, he said: "They were the core of resistance to the new faith of Mau Mau when it sought the allegiance of every Kikuyu, for they opposed to it a greater faith and one based not on hate but on love. They believed in Jesus Christ so surely that they were not afraid to die . . .

"I hope and think that the gangs in the forests are being slowly eliminated. I believe that in certain parts African opinion is turning from Mau Mau. But the defeat of Mau Mau is more than the defeat of the gangs. It is as important that the fight

should be clean as that it should be victorious . . . Some of the fight has not been clean . . . 'We must make them as afraid of us as they are of Mau Mau' has been a commonly-heard slogan of security forces. And they have succeeded. In some areas an average Kikuyu has hardly known which to fear more—Mau Mau or the forces of law and order. By both, men have been robbed and beaten or carried off and killed, and there is little chance of redress. They hardly ever try for it. To whom should they go? Last year, for example, the chief trouble was from the African Home Guard, who have commonly interrogated suspects by beating them until they confessed. Many, of course, confessed without any beating, for they had good reasons to expect to be beaten if they did not. Some of the confessions have been genuine. . . I am not speaking of legal niceties, of things done in the heat of battle, of too enthusiastic a loyalty, of an excess of zeal, and so on; but of cold-blooded, deliberate injustice . . . Impeccable directives are issued from above, resulting in some improvement . . . But far more drive is needed to see that directives are obeyed. Machinery should be set up so that any ordinary citizen may, without fear of retaliation, bring a complaint and have it dealt with justly . . . Let me repeat: We shall win only if we so live and so act that Africans see that we are not enemy invaders." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 14, 1955.)

MAU MAU ACTIVITY IN UGANDA

As a Mau Mau gang has been rounded up in Kampala, and a Mau Mau court discovered there, and as at least one murder connected with Mau Mau has been committed, the Uganda Legislative Council have brought in a bill to deport from Uganda all Kikuyu, Meru and Embu, except those who asked for and were granted exemption. (*The Times*, April 29, 1955.)

APPEAL TRIBUNALS

Mr. H. F. L. Turner (Conservative) asked, in the House of Commons, how many appeal tribunals there were in Kenya; and whether all detainees were informed of the existence of appeal tribunals. Mr. Henry Hopkinson, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, replied that there was one Advisory Committee at present, but there could be more if needed. It was the duty of camp commandants to inform every detainee of his right to appeal to the Governor, and also to the Advisory Committee, who visited camps, and interviewed petitioners there. (*Hansard*, March 30, 1955).

COMMITTEE ON AFRICAN WAGES¹

The Kenya Government has agreed that the proposals put forward by the Committee on African Wages constitute a desirable aim in the future. However, for the present it will only be possible to raise the minimum wage to that required to support a man and wife; 167 per cent of the present minimum, instead of the 254 per cent suggested by the Committee. The actual figures, based on Nairobi prices in December 1953, are: single man 69s. 33c. a month; man and wife 115s. 53c.; man, wife and two children 175s. 92c.

A Wages Advisory Board for Urban Areas has been set up, also a Committee to advise on rural wages. The recommendations of the report, that housing schemes should be built as "neighbourhood units", and that tenant-purchase and builder-owner schemes should be provided, are already being put into

¹See *Digest* Vol. II, No. 2.

effect. The Government has also agreed that English should be taught to African children as early as possible in their school career, and (in principle) that special training should be provided for African foremen. The question of a State-operated pensions scheme, which was urgently recommended in the report, has been referred to the Social Security Committee of the Kenya Legislative Council. (*Kenya Sessional Paper No. 21 of 1954.*)

THE KODERA FOREST SCHEME IN SOUTH NYANZA

1,700 acres of bush at Koderia, 25 miles north of Kisii, are being cleared and planted with useful trees. The scheme is run by the African District Council, with Mr. Solomon Owango in charge of the work, and so far 200 acres have been planted. It was made possible because the spraying process invented by Mr. James McMahon enabled the area to be freed from the fly that causes river blindness. So far it is necessary to spend over £1,000 a year on the scheme, but it is hoped to make it pay by the sale of charcoal from the scrub that is cleared. The scheme will provide both fuel and building material, which are very scarce locally. (*Kenya Dept. of Information, April 19, 1955.*)

SUGAR PRODUCTION IN SOUTH NYANZA

It is hoped that African growers in a 400-square-mile area of South Nyanza will be able to produce 90,000 tons of white sugar a year, without lessening the production of food crops. (*Kenya Dept. of Information, April 18, 1955.*)

MORE SCHOOLS FOR MARAGOLI

It is planned to build fourteen new schools in the North Maragoli district, bringing the total to fifty-four, and to raise the number of schools in South Maragoli to thirty-eight by building thirteen new ones. (*Kenya Dept. of Information, April 19, 1955.*)

ADULT LITERACY SCHEME AT MACHAKOS

Under this scheme, 1,000 Kamba men and women have learned to read and write, and another 700 are learning English. The scheme is now operated by the African District Council, and money for it has been subscribed in six locations. (*Kenya Dept. of Information, April 19, 1955.*)

£4 MILLION EDUCATION BILL

The Kenya Government has allocated funds amounting to over £4 million to be used for the improvement of the Colony's educational facilities. £727,000 will go into European education, £1,020,000 to Asian education, £1,233,000 to African education, and £45,000 to Arab education.

In addition to these votes from the Government's funds, there will be another £120,000 for European education from non-Government grants-in-aid, £225,000 from similar sources for Asian education and £725,000 in grants-in-aid for building African schools. (*Commonwealth News Agency, April 13, 1955.*)

POLICY OF KENYA INDIAN CONGRESS

The Kenya Indian Congress has called for equal opportunity for all races in Kenya to develop the land. They want

self-government within the British Commonwealth, elections on a common roll, and no discrimination on grounds of race or religion. (*The Times, April 26, 1955.*)

Tanganyika

NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

THE new and enlarged Legislative Council for Tanganyika held its first meeting on April 20 at Dar-es-Salaam. Equal representation of the three races—African, Asian and European—is one of the important features of the new Council which, for the first time, has women among its members.

The new Council consists of sixty-one members; a Government side of thirty-one, not all of whom are officials however, and a representative side of thirty. It is on the representative side that there is now equal inter-racial parity.

In his inaugural address the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., said:—

"Government's aim is nationhood for this Territory and we intend to build fairly and squarely. Nationhood must be based firmly on strong local loyalties and civic pride . . . We have here in this Territory an opportunity of giving a lead which may well be followed in other African territories where the present is troubled and the future is obscure, but our success will depend on a sane and realistic approach with determination to consolidate each stage before we move forward to the next one.

"I sincerely hope all people in Tanganyika who have the interests of the territory and population at heart will concentrate during the next period on economic progress. If they do, political progress will follow naturally. If they do not, and particularly if they start toying with the arbitrary introduction of alien political systems into unsuitable local conditions, the result will be chaos, disaster and misery to the people."

Earlier the Governor spoke of the tribal system as a basis of African life in Tanganyika. Almost all Chiefs chosen by the people, even though from particular families and although they were agents for carrying out the Government policy once it had been settled, exercised a very strong influence in its formulation and in any modification necessary in its administration. The popular conception that a chief was either a stooge or a tyrant was utterly wrong . . . It was often overlooked that, apart from his rôle as administrator, a chief had another one of "Mystique" by the nature of which he is custodian of tribal laws, customs and traditions and is guardian of all those indefinable things his people revere . . .

"It is the intention of the Government of Tanganyika to maintain the tribal system, but to ensure that such changes as may be desirable to meet modern conditions are made when the people feel themselves able to agree. It is the Government's intention too to maintain the authority of the chiefs but to ensure there can be no tyranny and, indeed, that they are guided and advised by Councils which have, wherever possible, a majority of representatives of the people elected in a democratic way."

The Governor reiterated the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1952 that the present Legislative Council changes were designed to last "for a considerable period . . ."

The Governor went on to say that the so-called parity of representation on the unofficial side of the Legislature "diminishes the possibility of domination by any one race. It provides the best means for the representatives of the three races, on whom Tanganyika so much depends, to examine the problems of the Territory together on an equal basis. But it is most important that members should not look at problems from a communal point of view."

He spoke of the great benefit brought to the Territory by agricultural enterprise of non-natives, particularly Europeans.

Contrary to the belief that the African population is unanimously against the alienation of more land to non-natives, the Governor reported requests from Africans in four districts for land to be alienated to European agriculture. "You may rest assured that every precaution will be taken to see there is sufficient land available to meet the future needs of the African population and their descendants, and that the rights of non-native landowners will be safeguarded."

"I doubt whether there is any country, certainly in the African Continent, where inter-racial relations are better. Those who advocate the abolition of racial discrimination by legislation obviously are unfamiliar with our conditions and they forget that it would mean the abrogation of some twenty laws which are on our statute book and discriminate in favour of Africans." (*Colonial Office Information Department*, April 20, 1955.)

DEBATES AT THE UNITED NATIONS

In the course of its review of conditions in Tanganyika, the Trusteeship Council gave oral hearings to Sir Charles Phillips, Chairman of the Tanganyika Unofficial Members Organisation, and Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, National President of the Tanganyika African National Union. Much of the debate was taken up in considering the report of the visiting mission, and particularly of its recommendation that Tanganyika should be granted self-government within twenty years.

Sir Alan Burns, the United Kingdom representative on the Council, sharply criticised the report, and rejected the recommendation for a political time-table. Such a time limit, he maintained, "is, and must be, purely arbitrary, based on generalisations founded on misconceptions as to the true conditions in the territory and its people." The mission had been in Tanganyika for six weeks. In that time, it saw only a small part of the territory and a fraction of its population. Yet, with that limited experience, it had "ventured to make proposals diametrically opposed to the considered policy of the administration"—a policy developed by an experienced staff who had worked for the welfare of the people of Tanganyika for many years.

Mr. A. J. Grattan-Bellew, special representative of the administration in Tanganyika, said it was not possible to estimate when the territory and the people would be ready for self-government. He also said that he believed that the principle of parity representation on the Legislative Council was accepted by the vast majority of the population.

The representative of El Salvador, who was on the visiting mission, said that the setting of a time limit would be an inspiration and an incentive to the people.

The British delegate announced that his government would not carry out the recommendations of the visiting mission even if the Council endorsed them.

The Trusteeship Council later adopted a report containing its conclusions and recommendations on the territory, for submission to the General Assembly. Opinion on the report was divided and in the final vote, more than half the members abstained.

In this report, "The Council noted the efforts of the Administering Authority to foster co-operation among the various population groups in Tanganyika and to encourage the participation of all groups in the new organs of local government. It also urged the Administering Authority to promote the further participation of the indigenous inhabitants in all the organs of government, the growth of a sense of territorial consciousness, and the eventual establishment of a common voting roll, a common citizenship and a Tanganyika nationality."

"Among other recommendations, the Council noted that the retention of separate representation of the three population groups—Africans, Asians and Europeans—even on the improved basis of parity among them brought about by the recent reorganisation of the Legislative Council, would be regarded by the Administering Authority as a transitional phase."

"It also expressed the hope that 'the experience gained in the next constitutional stage will point the way towards an early and progressive increase in African non-official representation in the Legislative Council and towards the attainment as soon as possible of the Charter objective of self-government or independence.'"

"The Council noted with satisfaction progress in the development of local government and urged the Administering Authority to intensify its efforts in this direction."

"Regarding suffrage, the Council noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority intended to introduce as soon as possible elections for all local government bodies where the people desired them. It urged that this practice be progressively introduced as soon as practicable for the election of members to central as well as local government bodies."

"Regarding economic advancement in Tanganyika, the Council noted with satisfaction the development of capital works and the improvement of communications, as well as efforts to increase African production, to increase the participation of Africans in producing and marketing cash crops, and to encourage the development of the co-operative movement." (*United Nations News*, March 28, 1955.)

The Public Relations Department, Tanganyika, described a public meeting at Dar es Salaam of about 10,000 people who gathered to hear Mr. Nyerere on his return from the U.N. They heard him say:—

"I did not go to America to bring you self-government immediately, but I went there to ascertain whether the possibility is there. By hard work, either in our own lifetime or that of our children, we shall achieve it."

When self-government was eventually achieved, Mr. Nyerere said, the T.A.N.U. was prepared to see a fair representation on Government given to Asian and European communities, but the Government should be in the hands of Africans. The present rulers of the country did not chase Africans out, and there was no reason why Africans should take that line when they got self-government.

The Kenya Weekly News, (April 1, 1955) commented: "Mr. Nyerere, on his return from New York, spoke in moderate terms to the large audience which turned out to

meet him. His word may have relieved the minds of some who have been worried by the apparent threat of his Union to racial harmony, and it remains to see the extent to which he can control the more extremist members of the organisation. Certain things that he said remain open to the strongest question. For example, he said that seven out of the twelve nations represented on the Council thought that when Tanganyika gets self-government it should be an African government. He added that Britain also did not oppose this, or so he was reported. It is believed that this is extremely questionable and that Britain is NOT prepared to say at this stage any such thing—surely the attitude of the Administering Authority is one of complete reserve and a refusal to try to peer into the distant future and the kind of government Tanganyikans will elect to rule them when self-government is in reach."

Uganda

LUKIKO CONSIDERATION OF NAMIREMBE PROPOSALS

A CORRESPONDENT, writing from Uganda, described the way in which the constitutional crisis¹ in Buganda was taken several steps nearer a solution when the sub-committee appointed by the great Lukiko last December to examine the Hancock Report presented its own report to a crowded Lukiko and an anxious and eager public. The twenty-three page report was clear in thought and moderate in its amendments of the Namirembe Conference proposals, and demonstrated that popular and moderate African leaders can lead their people towards their much desired goal of self-government with an interim period of ever greater responsibility for the affairs of their country.

The sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Michael Kintu, a county chief, after hearing a great deal of evidence, reduced its deliberations to three major issues. These were: (1) the position of the Kabaka in the new reforms as a constitutional monarch; (2) the appointment of the Ministers and the Katikiro-designate in particular; (3) Baganda participation in Legislative Council.

The recommendations on the first issue can be regarded as the key to the possible solution of the deadlock which loomed large last December. The sub-committee suggested that the Kabaka "make a royal declaration before the Lukiko in respect of his desire" whereby he "voluntarily" transfers his traditional prerogative to the Lukiko. This was stated to be "in accord with our national custom and the dignity of the Kabaka". The report recommended that the "Kabaka should become a Constitutional Monarch", but added that "this does not mean that his dignity and his power to give counsel to his people are removed". When necessary, the Kabaka should himself appoint regents, or, if impossible, the Lukiko should elect them, subject to the approval of the Governor.

On the second issue the sub-committee recommended that the list of Ministerial candidates be reduced from the proposed forty to fifteen. It was further suggested that the Governor, henceforth to be referred to as "Her Majesty's Representative", relinquish his right, as proposed in the Namirembe Conference, of interfering in the Lukiko electoral

procedure by striking names off the list of candidates, particularly in the case of the election of the Katikiro (Prime Minister)-designate. The Governor will, however, retain his ultimate power of rejecting any name from the final list of candidates presented for his approval. It is thought that this procedure is in line with the various pending constitutional changes and further that interference in the internal politics of Buganda would in all likelihood lead to friction between the Lukiko and "Her Majesty's Representative".

Finally our correspondent says, the sub-committee recommended conditional Baganda participation in Legislative Council. This has presented the Protectorate Government, in the eyes of the Baganda, with a test of the Crown's real intentions, for it is proposed that the Representative Baganda members be directly elected by the people instead of being appointed by the Lukiko. This suggestion will need careful examination, as clearly the Lukiko might continue to think of itself as a sovereign body not bound by this rather loose link to the central organ of Protectorate administration. On the other hand the Baganda clearly intend to stay out of the Legislative Council until general elections have taken place. From recent Gold Coast and Sudan experience, it takes some time to draw up a voter's roll.

The sub-committee also asked for assurances that the Baganda on the nominated side of the Council are not those "whose views were fundamentally opposed to those of the elected representatives of the people", as this would "cause grave political difficulties". This is a clear objection to what are often regarded as Government-promoted "stooges".

The sub-committee also recommended that the constitutional document to be drawn up, so far as it is appropriate, be incorporated into the Laws of Uganda and so be "justiciable by the Courts". Clearly the memory of last September's judgement still lingers.

Shortly after the report was made public, the Acting-Governor, Mr. C. H. Thornley, announced in the Legislative Council, that the Protectorate Government would implement the proposed changes in Legislative Council on July 1. There was, according to our correspondent, "an instantaneous and hostile reception by the overwhelming majority of Baganda" arising from their feelings about a multi-racial government. The sub-committee to the Lukiko had declared that: "... representation of the Europeans and Asians is higher than it should be and than is needed to safeguard the interests of minorities." Further, that this disproportion should be reduced as quickly as possible "so as to hasten the progress of Uganda to the goal laid down by the Secretary of State as a primarily African State . . ."

The announcement was occasioned by the introduction of Uganda's budget, and the Acting-Governor announced that there would be Ministers of Finance, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Local Government, Social Services, Rural Development, and Works.

The timing of the announcement, just two weeks before the Lukiko was to debate the sub-committee's report, was strongly criticised, and representations were made by members of the Lukiko to the acting Governor, calling for an explanation. *The Times* (May 10, 1955) described the action of the Uganda Government as "ill-timed and ill-advised" and added that the word had got about in Buganda that one of the two non-African unofficial ministers is to be an Asian. "The whole idea

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 8.

of multi-racial government, let alone the appointment of an Asian, is opposed by them. The announcement that the Government intended to go ahead with this—to Baganda minds—controversial reform, at this crucial time, was enough to jeopardise any chances at all of the sub-committee's report passing the Lukiko. The Uganda Government evidently realised that it had been tactless for it subsequently issued a conciliatory statement explaining that the announcement was only made for purposes of administrative convenience."

The Great Lukiko, by seventy-seven votes to eight, with one abstention, accepted the report of the sub-committee. It also passed a long resolution condemning multi-racial government, and decided to send a delegation to London to appeal to the Colonial Secretary for the early return of the Kabaka. A drafting committee was chosen which, with the assistance of Mr. Kenneth Diplock, Q.C., would meet Government lawyers to draw up the legal instruments necessary for implementing the reforms to which they had agreed.

The Times correspondent (May 18, 1955) reported from Kampala that the Colonial Secretary had replied, in a letter from the acting Governor to the Katikiro, Mr. Paulo Kavuma, saying he would meet a delegation from the Lukiko in June. He noted that the Lukiko was seriously perturbed by one aspect of the central government reforms. Having regard, however, to the fact that these reforms involved a great advance for Africans, including the Baganda, he did not consider this perturbation to be justified.

On May 20, the African members of the Legislative Council saw the Acting Governor, to complain about the Government's supposed intention to appoint an Asian as one of the two non-African unofficial ministers.¹ *The Times* correspondent in Kampala (May 22, 1955) said: "The argument which is advanced runs thus: the European missionaries and the British Government were invited to Uganda by the Africans and are here to bring them forward to self-government. Asians are merely uninvited guests who came to make money rather than aid in the development of the country. They might look to India. In any case they have no cultural affinities with the Africans. For all these reasons it would be inappropriate for an Asian to have executive power in Uganda."

"The reply which the Acting Governor is presumed to have given is that the arrival of the Asians in Uganda is a matter of history. A substantial majority of them are, for all practical purposes, permanently resident here and have no other home. Their leaders have played a constructive part in public life, and the contribution they are making to the development of the country is of immense importance."

The delegation from the Lukiko, led by the Omuwanika (Treasurer), and including Princess Nadagire, sister of the Kabaka, arrived in London on May 29.

VISIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

The Most Rev. Dr. G. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Kampala for the consecration of four African bishops from Kenya, Tanganyika and the Sudan. Twelve other bishops assisted, among them the African bishop from the Niger, and African assistant bishops from Uganda, and the Upper Nile.

¹The Bunyoro Rukuruto (Native Council) unanimously passed a resolution opposing a multi-racial government.

The Archbishop visited the Great Lukiko, and appreciation was expressed for the part he had played in helping to pave the way for the return of the Kabaka.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

DISCUSSIONS OF U.N. COMMITTEE

THE U.N. Committee on South West Africa, consisting of delegates from Thailand, Mexico, Pakistan, Syria, the United States, and Uruguay met on February 3, and agreed on the following suggestions put forward by their Chairman: (1) Every member of the Committee should examine the needs of the mandated territory of South West Africa in the light of available information and make suggestions concerning the kind of assistance the specialised agencies of the U.N. might be asked to give. (2) The Committee should request the Secretary-General to write to the specialised agencies, asking them, in conformity with the General Assembly's relevant resolution to consider the needs of the territory and to indicate what help they could give. (3) The specialised agencies should subsequently be invited to send representatives to discuss the matter with the Committee. (U.N. document, A/AC.73/SR.43, of February 28, 1955.)

ADMINISTRATION OF NATIVE AFFAIRS TAKEN OVER BY UNION

The Union Government took over complete administration of Native Affairs in the mandated territory of South West Africa on April 1. This means that the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, will have a direct say over the administration.

PASSPORT LAW

South West Africa has been included in the law which makes it an offence for any person over 16 years of age to leave the Union without a passport or permit, and an offence to assist persons to leave if they are not in possession of a passport or permit.¹

POPULATION

The Native and Coloured population of the territory in 1951 was 366,010, and European, 48,588.

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS' COMMENT

SPEAKING in the South African House of Assembly, Dr. H. F. Vorwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, said:—

"It is important to us to incorporate the protectorates; not so that we can offload our problems on to them—they do not lend themselves to that, for they are themselves overloaded—

¹See Digest Vol. II, No. 7.

but so that the policy which is now being applied in them in opposition to our policy shall not be continued.

"According to our policy, in the Transkei and Zululand, we are entrenching the Native in their own areas and adding to those areas. We are getting rid of White spots. But in the protectorates, Britain is applying another principle in accordance with the usual methods of colonisation, which is apparently very well meant but which, in its ultimate effects, will bring the Whites into the Native areas and begin gradually to squeeze the Native out of the economy of his own areas. It is not in the interest of South Africa that the protectorates should become, not Native reserves but partnership areas where White and non-White mix." (*Race Relations News*, March 1955.)

NEW ZEALAND OPPOSITION LEADER'S HOPE

Mr. Walter Nash, the New Zealand Opposition leader, criticised South Africa's *apartheid* policy in the House of Representatives.

Apartheid, he said, was a greater menace to world peace than the situation in Indo-China. It was causing a breach in the Commonwealth between South Africa and India.

Mr. Nash said he hoped that Britain would never transfer to South Africa her Native protectorates adjacent to the Union. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 25, 1955.)

SERETSE KHAMA EXILE TO CONTINUE

In reply to a question by Mr. Fenner Brockway (M.P. Labour), Mr. A. Dodds-Parker, Commonwealth Relations Under-Secretary, said in the House of Commons (May 4, 1955) that the decision to exile Seretse Khama from Bechuanaland was final. The Headquarters of the Labour Party are sending Mr. John Hatch, their Commonwealth Officer, to the High Commission Territories and other parts of Africa. His tour will include a visit to Bechuanaland to discover the local attitude to Seretse Khama.

PROTECTORATES' APPEAL COURT

An Appeal Court has been established in the High Commission territories. Until now, appeals from the territorial High Courts have been heard by the Privy Council. The new court is expected to make the hearing of criminal and civil appeals quicker than hitherto. (*South Africa*, May 7, 1955.)

Basutoland

REJECTION OF MOORE COMMITTEE REPORT

THE recommendations made by the Committee on Administrative Reforms¹ were rejected by the National Council of Basutoland by overwhelming majorities. At the suggestion of the Resident Commissioner, the report was debated paragraph by paragraph and the Council turned each down. A correspondent reports that after eight days they reached paragraph 38 (out of 148) and the Resident Commissioner then dissolved the Council, and upbraided the members for irresponsibility.

¹See *Digest* Vol. II, No. 8.

SOUTH AFRICA

SENATE BILL

MASS rededication to the spirit of union was made at crowded public meetings in cities and platteland centres throughout South Africa before and on Union Day (May 31). This was described as the climax of the first phase of the battle against the Government's Senate Bill. The United Party, the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, municipal leaders, members of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches, the S.A. Coloured People's organisation, business people, the newly formed Anti-Republican League, the reconstituted Torch Commando and others have taken part in the opposition to this Bill, which increases the size of the Senate from forty-eight to eighty-nine. The effect of some of its provisions is to reduce the number of Opposition senators from eighteen to twelve, thus giving the Nationalist Government the two-thirds majority it has sought for four years, and which the last general and provincial elections failed to give it. In a joint sitting of the Assembly and the new Senate proposed, the Nationalists would have 171 votes, five more than the two-thirds figure of 166.

Commenting on it, the *Rand Daily Mail* (May 13, 1955) said: "What it means, in the simplest possible language, is that a political party with a small Parliamentary majority proposes to vote itself a much larger majority, and with it, absolute power to alter the Constitution, to remove the legal right of some voters to representation in the Senate and, in the long run, to do anything that may occur to its power-crazed mind. What this adds up to is the death knell of the Parliamentary system as we know it and the substitution of a political dictatorship."

The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, said in the Orange Free State that the new composition of the Senate was a result of the stubbornness of the Opposition, who had forced the Government to take this step. All efforts of the Government to carry out the will and the mandate of the people—to put the Coloureds on a separate voters' roll—were thwarted by the Opposition. Now the Government was going to take drastic steps. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 21, 1955.)

The strongest opposition to the Bill has come from the universities in South Africa, led by thirteen professors, doctors and senior lecturers of the University of Pretoria, a largely Nationalist university who are registered members of the Nationalist Party, or sympathetic to it.

Seventy-eight professors and lecturers of Witwatersrand University identified themselves "without reference to party politics" with the protest of their Pretoria colleagues.

Thirty-one professors and lecturers of Rhodes University, added their protest. In the course of it they said that "what is now at stake is not merely the political opportunism of a party, but something of far greater moment. It is respect for moral obligation, propriety and intellectual integrity, without which freedom withers and no healthy society can long survive."

Thirty-four professors and lecturers of the University of Natal in Maritzburg signed a declaration in which they described the Senate Bill as "a grave threat to Parliamentary Institutions, to the rights of minorities and to the rule of law."

One hundred lecturers from Cape Town University also protested.

Professor B. B. Keet, Chairman of the Dutch Reformed Church Judicial Commission, announced in Stellenbosch that he "heartily agreed" with the Pretoria professors' petition. Mr. N. C. Havenga, former Minister of Finance in the Nationalist Government, interviewed at his farm, said he was "not happy about the Senate Bill," and added that "it may be constitutional, but even the Nationalists are not happy about it." (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 1955.) He suggested that leaders of the parties and their supporters should "consider whether a fresh approach is not possible on the question of the separate representation of Coloured voters to which the Government is committed . . ."

APPEAL COURT BILL

The Appellate Division Quorum Bill, despite strong opposition from the United and Labour Parties and Native Representatives, passed through the parliamentary machine in nine days. This provides that constitutional cases, in future, shall be heard by a quorum of eleven Appeal Court judges. The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, had already announced the names of the five extra judges before the Bill had been placed before Parliament. In the debates, the Minister of Justice said that if steps taken by the Government were considered to be illegal by an Appeal Court of eleven judges, other steps would be taken. The subsequent introduction of the Senate Bill was considered to be one of the "other steps", to ensure that either way the Nationalist Government could alter the Constitution despite the entrenched clauses.

The Johannesburg Bar unanimously condemned the Bill and said: "We are forced to conclude that the Government is moved solely by the hope that it will obtain the decision it desires on the Constitutional question from the new eleven-judge court . . . This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that there are several judges whose ability and experience are such that it is incredible that all of them should be passed over in any genuine attempt to strengthen the Appeal Court. Political considerations alone can account for their exclusion." The Bar concluded: "The independence of the judiciary is a foundation of the democratic system; the reputation and stature of our courts rests on their freedom from political taint. We trust that the Government will realise that it is dangerous and unpatriotic to imperil for the sake of mere political advantage the great esteem in which our highest court is held." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 1955.)

In Parliament, during an attack on the Johannesburg Bar Mr. Strydom said that "all decent members of the Johannesburg Bar" rejected the attitude conveyed in the Bar statement. This in turn evoked strong protests from the Bar Council, and a leading member of the Bar said it was "one of the most scandalous speeches ever made in the House". He added that the attitude of the Johannesburg Bar was a majority one, and said that "the suggestion that criticism sprang from motives of jealousy is as fantastic as it is scurrilous."

"BAASSKAP" IN DISPUTE

In a debate concerning foreign affairs in Committee of Supply, there were heated exchanges between the Government and Opposition parties. Mr. Strydom stressed the importance of the Government trying to create the greatest co-operation

between all countries of Southern Africa and all countries which had interests in Africa. He described the Afro-Asia conference at Bandung as a disturbing development which could cause nothing but disquiet for the future . . . The position of the Europeans in Asia had been greatly weakened since the second World War . . . however, it was the determination of European South Africans with the help of the greater and stronger nations of the Western community, to maintain themselves as white men and their country as a European country.

Mr. B. Friedman (United Party) pointed out that one thing was certain—the epoch of White domination was over. The great event of the present time was not the Russian revolution, but the retreat of White imperialism from the East, which had altered the whole balance of world forces. Power was no longer concentrated in the West . . . Not only was the United Nations a predominantly Coloured organisation, but most of the Western Powers were on the side of Coloured emancipation. The Government with its White "baasskap" policy was marching against the whole trend of human progress and this policy would inevitably lead to a clash or crisis in its external relations . . . The Western Powers realised that in any struggle against Communism it was of vital importance to keep the non-white people on their side.

Replying, Mr. Strydom said it was clear from this that the United Party was against White domination. He said the white man was "baas", paramount, supreme, dominating, because the white man retained the vote himself. It was because he had the vote that he had the leadership. It was the vote that put the power into the white man's hand. If there was not this one-sided voting power—if there were equal voting rights for all—the white man would not be sitting in Parliament. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 20, 1955.)

Professor I. S. Fourie (United Party) said if the white people of South Africa believed that they would maintain their baasskap on that basis of the vote then they were living an illusion. The white man's future was not based only on his right to vote. It was based also on whatever moral power there might be in the European population of South Africa . . . He added that the Europeans must put their heads together to solve the problem of political rights for Natives. If the Europeans wanted to be realistic they must think in terms of opening channels through which the Natives could exercise their greatly increased political powers. (*Cape Times*, April 21, 1955.)

Mr. Strauss (leader of the United Party) denied once again and finally that the United Party stood for equality, and he denied equally strongly that the United Party stood for total *apartheid* . . . The United Party realised that the door must be left open to the non-Europeans. They must be given a chance to develop . . . The United Party proposed that the whole question of Native policy should be referred to a select committee of both Houses for investigation, so that the committee could decide if any recommendations on a change in policy should be made.

ECONOMIC APARTHEID

Recent statements by two South African Ministers have caused concern to industrialists. The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said he would oppose the establishment of new industrial areas on the Witwatersrand

in spite of the opposition of local authorities, because it was a necessary step toward the execution of the *apartheid* policy . . . During the next ten years industries would be encouraged on the borders of the Native territories . . . (*Pretoria News*, March 14, 1955.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (March 21, 1955) reported that one industrialist said "we were shaken to our very foundations by the Minister's announcement . . ." He added that the Minister's explanation later that matters on the Rand would remain as at present for the next ten or fifteen years and there would be no change in that period, was another example of muddled thinking. "The suggestion that industry will remain on its present basis does not consider economic facts. Industry can only thrive on growth . . ."

The Minister of Labour, Mr. J. De Klerk, said the labour shortage brought Natives into industry to a dangerous degree and it was alarming to see how much skilled and semi-skilled work they were doing. He quoted figures showing an increase of 420 per cent in non-European workers in the clothing industry, compared with an increase of only 21 per cent of Europeans. A certain trade union in the Cape had a membership of 278 Europeans and 196 non-Europeans. On its executive were seven non-Europeans and one European. Subscriptions from members were collected by shop stewards of whom twenty-two were non-Europeans compared with fourteen Europeans . . . But worse things went on there. There were only twenty-two European apprentices compared with 103 non-Europeans, and some Europeans were serving apprenticeships under non-European tutors.

"In no circumstances can this be allowed to continue." The Europeans could only retain their leadership and supremacy if they know how to do the work . . . Mr. De Klerk said he had been misinterpreted earlier. A certain newspaper had apparently understood him to mean that South African housewives, must, for example, scrub their own floors and do all their own household work. This was ridiculous. What he had said was that White leadership and supremacy could only be preserved if the European knew how to do the work being performed by those under him . . . "We must be able to do all the work ourselves, as well as to see what is wrong, or we shall go under." On that day the Native would be able to say—as had happened on the Gold Coast—"Voetsak, we don't need you here." He added, "We must all work, even if we have to crawl to work, because we are too few to sit there and let those other people fill the gaps . . ." (*Pretoria News*, April 4, 1955.)

The Chief Information Officer of the Department of Native Affairs, Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, announced that all expansion of industry and other European interests in the Transkei has ceased, and there is no hope of permission being granted for further extensions. He said: "Natives who have lived in the so-called Black spots, sometimes on freehold land in European areas in the Transvaal and other provinces have been removed, are in the course of being moved, or will in future be moved. In all fairness, then, why should we permit the expansion of European interests in Native areas?"

In addition to Umtata, there were twenty-five other White spots in the Transkei which would, in the long run, be cleared of permanent European residents. The population of the small settlements ranged between fifty and 300 and 400. Another source puts the European population of the Transkei at about 18,000. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 3, 1955.)

Mr. T. Gray Hughes, United Party M.P. for the Transkeian Territories, said that the alarming aspect of Mr. Prinsloo's statement was that it was calculated to frighten capital away from the Transkei. "The Bunga recently called on the Government to encourage the establishment of industries in the reserves. I would be interested to hear how the department intends giving effect to this request . . . It was impossible for Natives within the foreseeable future to take over the services at present provided by Europeans, including commercial activity. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 4, 1955.)

The political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* (May 3, 1955) said that a clash of views between Dr. Verwoerd and the Tomlinson Commission, which recently ended a four-year inquiry into the socio-economic future of the Native reserves, is believed to be the reason for the delay in the publication of the Commission's report. The clash is over the siting of new industries. The Commission, the correspondent understands, recommended that industries should be located inside the Native reserves, but Dr. Verwoerd wants them established outside the reserves—on the fringes.

END OF THE BUNGA

The Bunga Native Parliament of eighty-two members, two-thirds of whom were elected, and which, under Government control, ruled over the 1½ million inhabitants of the five Transkeian territories, voted itself almost out of existence by accepting the principle of the Bantu Authorities Act. This means that its twenty-six district councils will be replaced by tribal authorities built around the authority of the chiefs or Government-appointed headmen.

Writing in the *Daily Telegraph* (April 27, 1955) Mr. Douglas Brown said: "To many it will seem incredible that the Nationalist Press should have hailed this retrograde step as 'a triumph for apartheid'. The Bunga, however imperfect it may have been as a piece of democratic machinery, might at least be thought to have diverted a proportion of native political ambition into safer channels than agitation. But Dr. Verwoerd . . . objects to it as an inappropriate copy of the white man's institutions . . . Few sociologists," Mr. Brown points out, "believe that tribalism can be artificially preserved in South Africa. The system is inconsistent with the increasing integration of natives into the white man's economy . . . Administratively, it is true, the Bantu Authorities Act grants more power to the natives in the reserves. The new territorial authorities will be responsible for, among other things, schools, conservation of soil, control of diseases in stock, afforestation, hospitals and roads. This is presented as encouraging the African in self-help. What is forgotten is that in South Africa today self-help is hardly possible without politics."

Commenting on the Bunga's acceptance, Mr. W. P. Stanford (Liberal) who represents the Natives of the Transkei in the House of Assembly, said he was not sure that the members of the Bunga understood what they were letting their people in for . . . He said that the evening before the Bunga took this resolution most of its members had attended a meeting addressed by Senator Campbell and himself, and had concurred in a unanimous vote of confidence in them and the work they were doing in Parliament, which had, of course, been opposed to apartheid measures, including the Bantu Authorities Act. (*Cape Argus*, April 21, 1955.)

FORT HARE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

The inter-racial Executive Committee of Fort Hare University College suddenly decided that it should be closed, and the 400 students returned to their homes, when evidence developed "of the existence within the student body of the college of a secret authority, sometimes referred to as the caucas, whose instructions are obeyed by students, often through fear of physical violence and other forms of intimidation, rather than the instructions of the constituted authorities of the college . . ." As a result of the "caucas's" activities the situation had become intolerable. "In consequence, the Students' Representative Council has found it necessary to resign", the statement continues. In view of the whole situation the Executive Committee had decided unanimously that it was impossible to continue the work of the college under present conditions.

A member of the Students' Representative Council subsequently told the *Rand Daily Mail's* correspondent that the reason for its resignation was that it had not succeeded in a number of requests made to the college senate on behalf of the body of students and it felt it no longer commanded the confidence of the students.

The *Mail's* comment was that "there may have been sound reasons for ordering the closing of the college so suddenly and summoning a body of armed police to see the 360 students safely off in their trains. But they have not been given." A special correspondent of the *London Times* (May 18, 1955) in the course of an article said that this was no simple dispute arising fortuitously at one university, but is a voicing of the "anti-White" state of mind of the educated African, an overflow from the political beaker in the Union as a whole.

The Principal of the College, Professor C. P. Dent, has announced that the college might be opened by July 1. Reasonable measures would be taken to refuse readmission to those responsible for the development of pressure groups in the college, and the Governing council has decided to appoint a two or three-man commission to look into the conditions of life and work at the college, and to make any recommendations for improvements.

BANTU EDUCATION

The Native Affairs Department took over African schools from the Missions on April 1. The change-over proceeded without trouble in certain areas. In Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, the Regional Director of Bantu Education said that Native agitators had prevented the election of parent representatives to school committees. As a result, the constitution of committees in these centres had been postponed, but parents would soon be given another opportunity of appointing their representatives. (*Cape Argus*, April 16, 1955.)

In Benoni, a big sports meeting and annual treat for African children planned to coincide with the opening of the new £7 million Native township were cancelled because of the hostile attitude of a big mob, mainly of youngsters, which marched through the streets shouting derisively. Overnight the entrance to the sports ground was defaced by slogans saying "Away with Eiselen", while sidewalks and culvert walls bore such inscriptions as "We don't want Bantu Education Act . . ." Six African National Congress members of the procession were arrested.

Protest meetings were held, especially on the East Rand, and attempts were made to set fire to two schools in the Benoni location. Some 10,000 African children boycotted schools in Benoni, Brakpan, Germiston and Alexandra township. Meetings in the Benoni locations were then banned and the Minister of Native Affairs, announced a deadline for the children to return to their schools. Those absent after April 25 would be debarred for future schooling. Part of the programme announced by the Minister was to register all male pupils, 16 years or over, who did not return by that date, with the Labour Bureau. They would be given seventy-two hours in which to register, failing which they might be arrested, charged as "loafers" and sent to labour camps. Some 4,000 pupils who did not return on April 25 have been black-listed, and 116 Native teachers dismissed as they became redundant. However the latter can apply for other posts.

Although criticising the boycott, the English language newspapers in the Transvaal appealed to the Minister of Native Affairs to be magnanimous, and to withdraw his threat.

Mr. Elias Monare, who was alleged to have figured as a speaker at protest meetings in Benoni Location, was banished to the Northern Cape, until further notice. Wide powers of discipline over Bantu teachers are given to the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Under-Secretary (Bantu Education) through further regulations gazetted in terms of the Bantu Education Act . . . Among the regulations is one forbidding teachers to write or give interviews to the Press criticising superior officers or the policy of the Department of Native Affairs. They may not identify themselves actively with a political party or take an active part in political affairs. Charges of misconduct will be investigated by a board of inquiry. The teacher can cross-examine witnesses and call and give evidence on his own behalf, but will not be allowed legal representation. There is no appeal against the decision of the Secretary or Under-Secretary arising from such an inquiry. (Extracts from *Pretoria News*, April 27, 1955.)

The Rev. J. B. Webb, president of the Methodist Conference of South Africa, pleaded in Durban that the Bantu Education Act be given a fair trial. He said his church "is finding that many of the fears which we at first expected are not being realised." He added: "We believe that there is only one type of education and that it cannot be branded according to those who are taught. We cannot accept the idea of European education, Bantu education, etc. It is just education. But we have got to see how the thing works. In any case, we could not have thrown out of school some 200,000 Native children who were in our mission schools, or have caused unemployment for the time being, at least, of nearly 5,000 teachers." (*Cape Argus*, April 23, 1955.)

While in England, the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, described the Family Centres opened in his diocese, in place of the schools he had closed because he was convinced that in the Bantu Education Act the Africans were being offered not education as we understand it, but a form of training for a predetermined status in life. The *Manchester Guardian* commented (March 23, 1955) that the experiment "deserves all the support which sympathisers here can give it, in money or in personal service."

At his last public meeting before returning to South Africa, the Bishop referred to one school in Sophiatown, which the Anglican Church had decided as an experiment to continue to

run as a private school. He had been told that when the term opened in April it had 500 scholars, whose parents were each prepared to pay 10s. a month towards their children's education, and that there was a waiting list of 1,000 children. A few days before he had heard that those responsible for running this school had been told by the authorities that it must be closed as the Minister had not granted the necessary certificate of registration.

The Roman Catholics of England and Wales have decided to establish a South African Catholic Schools Fund to help "solve the problems which have arisen as a result of the Bantu Education Act". Donations should be sent to the Archbishop's House, Westminster.

NEW PASSPORT BILL

In future, South Africans with British passports will not be able to leave the Union unless they surrender their passports for South African passports, or obtain special exit permits from the Secretary for the Interior. If they leave with only a British passport in their possession and then return, they may be imprisoned for a minimum of three months—without the option of a fine—or a maximum of two years . . . It is estimated that nearly 500,000 South Africans are affected. They either hold or are entitled to hold British passports because, in addition to being South African citizens they are "citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies . . ." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 1955.)

IMMIGRATION AND OTHER FIGURES

The Union gained 5,081 immigrants over emigrants last year. Immigrants totalled 16,417, emigration from the Union, 11,336.

The platteland lost about 250,000 people, mostly Afrikaans speaking, between 1936 and 1951. In 1951 the cities contained 517,455 Afrikaans-speaking people while the platteland had only 191,388. For the first time the urban areas in the Union contained more Afrikaans-speaking people than English-speaking. By 1951 all the Rand towns, except Johannesburg, had become predominantly Afrikaans-speaking. (Bureau of Census and Statistics figures.)

YOUTH CAMP FOR "WORK-SHY" NATIVES

A new labour camp for one hundred Native youths between the ages of 15 and 19 has been established by the Department of Native Affairs at Elandsdoorn, Groblersdal. A Native Affairs official explained that the purpose of the camp was to conduct an experiment with "work-shy" Native youths who had become a burden to their parents and a possible danger to the community. The camp was not a reformatory, and no youths who had been convicted of any crime would be admitted . . . (*South African Survey*, February 28, 1955.)

AMERICA & AFRICA

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON'S VISIT

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON, leader of the Democratic Party of the United States, made a short tour of Africa, stopping in Kenya, Uganda, Central Africa, South Africa and West Africa. While in Central Africa, he said that race relations were the biggest problem in the world today, and were particularly

important in Africa. They in America had been concerned about political unrest in Africa as elsewhere. It was an inhibiting factor in determining whether money should be invested in Africa. (*The Times*, May 1, 1955.)

In Johannesburg, Mr. Stevenson, speaking "with the utmost diffidence," told a press conference "I cannot foresee the success of *apartheid* as applied to industry and economic development with any confidence. I have great misgivings about efforts to arrest the progress of a whole race—when the rest of the world is moving so rapidly in other directions. It is seldom wise to choose safety valves."

Speaking slowly and deliberately, Mr. Stevenson said of South Africa: "The present generation did not make the problems here, they inherited them. I feel for every South African old enough to share the responsibility. And if anyone not involved in these conflicts, and with a superficial understanding as mine, is entitled to an opinion, then I would express the hope that the people of this lovely land take care lest fear lead them along the wrong path. Perhaps it is always best in human affairs to do what is right and ethical and just to all God's creatures, and leave the consequences confidently to God."

When asked if there was interest in the United States in "risk capital" he said: "There is already, I believe, something more than 200 million dollars of American money invested in South Africa. I think there is more to follow. . . ." (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 9, 1955.)

In a statement summing up his tour through African territories south of the Sahara, Mr. Stevenson said that everywhere he went he saw signs that the Africans were advancing rapidly and that White authorities were almost uniformly sympathetic with the changes taking place.

The advancement of the African was the most conspicuous and important single fact about Africa today. "It is very apparent in the Belgian Congo, French West Africa, British East Africa and in the Rhodesian Federation. "Only South Africa appears to be out of step," he added . . .

He was impressed by the progress that was being made by the Gold Coast in its transition from a colony to sovereignty. "It hink this first post-war experiment in African self-government is going to work," he added. (*Pretoria News*, May 19, 1955.)

Die Transvaler, the Afrikaner Nationalist organ in the Transvaal, commenting editorially, said that if Mr. Stevenson only knew how incorrect and unfounded, how one-sided and uninformed his valuation of the *apartheid* policy was, he as a person who was regarded as an intelligent observer of external affairs, should feel ashamed and would wish that he had said nothing . . . It was a pity that Mr. Stevenson preferred a quick visit to Swaziland and the Kruger National Park to a talk with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister would have told him something which he did not encounter, least of all in the jungle of the apes . . . (*Pretoria News*, May 10, 1955.)

The *Rand Daily Mail*, May 13, 1955, reported that Mr. Stevenson had a private meeting with non-European leaders in the Transvaal when he visited Johannesburg. . . . The meeting was scheduled to be a brief one, lasting perhaps half an hour. Instead, the man who may yet be president of the United States of America, is believed to have stayed for several hours. The meeting was a private one and those attending were asked not to talk about it.

The *Rand Daily Mail* commented: "It needed a well-balanced person like Mr. Stevenson to remind us of the dangers we run in following a course directly opposed to general world policy. He spoke with great sincerity, and with the utmost care; and even if he has not spent much time in the Union, we must give him credit for being able to see the world picture as a whole. His warning was as forthright as he could possibly make it; nor should the restraint with which it was couched deceive anyone. Mr. Stevenson spoke not as a demagogue but as a friend anxious to help. He believes that fear is at the root of many of our troubles, and there he has made a shrewd assessment of our troubles. Fear warps men's judgment—it is only fear that could provoke them into doing some of the things we are undertaking in South Africa today. Mr. Stevenson has done the country a service—we wonder, though, whether it will be appreciated."

The *Pretoria News* said: "We are out of step with the rest of the Western World and we must accept the consequences of that, however firmly and correctly we insist on our right to be out of step if we wish. Our isolation is real and it has been emphasised by the remarks of Mr. Stevenson."

CARNEGIE GIFT TO CENTRAL AFRICA

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has made a grant of 84,000 dollars to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the period of 1955–9 to assist in the establishment of an Institute of Education. The grant will enable the college to appoint a visiting professor of education. It will also facilitate the creation of fellowships, the holders of which will conduct research into local education problems. It will also enable the college to organise conferences for educational administrators, and members of staff of training colleges and schools, and in other ways to assist educational development in the Federation. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 13, 1955.)

Professor Basil Fletcher, now director of the Institute of Education at Bristol University, has been appointed visiting Professor in Education.

COLONIAL AND COMMONWEALTH MATTERS

INTERNATIONAL BANK "STAFF COLLEGE"

THE International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has announced plans for the establishment in or near Washington of an Economic Development Institute where senior government officials from the Bank's member countries may study the forming of development policies and the organisation and administration of development programmes. Its purpose will be to enable participants "to analyse the many and complex factors which enter into economic development" and their inter-relationship.

Professor A. K. Cairncross, Director of the Department of Social and Economic Research at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, has been appointed Director of the Institute.

Admission to the Institute, the Bank stated, "will normally be confined to officials who are now serving, or who may soon be expected to serve, in responsible policy-making positions in their governments." (*United Nations News*, March 14, 1955.)

PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

The charter of the proposed International Finance Corporation, which will encourage the growth of productive private enterprises, particularly in the less-developed areas of the world has been sent to the fifty-six governments which are members of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development . . .

The new Corporation will be an affiliate of the International Bank, whose Board of Executive Directors have spent several months drafting the proposed charter, or Articles of Agreement, together with a memorandum explaining the main features of the Corporation, and have approved them for submission to governments.

Membership in the Corporation will be open to governments which are members of the International Bank. The Corporation will have an authorised capital of \$100 million and will come into being when at least thirty governments have subscribed a minimum of \$75 million to its capital.

The United States would be the largest shareholder in the Corporation, with a subscription of \$35,168,000. The United Kingdom would be next largest, with \$14,400,000.

The Corporation will make its investments without governmental guarantee, and will be authorised to make both fixed interest loans and investments of other kinds. The I.F.C.'s charter gives it more latitude in financing private enterprise than has the International Bank, which may lend to private borrowers only with a governmental guarantee and may make only fixed-interest loans.

The Corporation will have authority to invest in any kind of productive private enterprise, including agricultural, financial and commercial undertakings; but its main emphasis is likely to be on industry. (*United Nations News*, April 19, 1955.)

COMMONWEALTH STUDY CENTRE

More information is now available about Queen Elizabeth House, the centre being established at Oxford largely through the gift made by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. The Charter of the Centre states that its main purpose is to facilitate studies in political, economic, legal, administrative, social and cultural matters affecting the peoples of the Commonwealth overseas and especially, but not exclusively, the peoples of the colonies, protectorates and other territories for which the United Kingdom Government now bears responsibility.

It would provide a centre to which persons of authority or influence can resort for the study of such matters and for the exchange of information and it will help such people to obtain access to the academic resources of Oxford and elsewhere and will generally act as a link between individuals and institutions concerned with Commonwealth affairs.

Viscount Chandos has been appointed President of the Governing Body of the House which consists also of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, four members appointed by the Government, four members appointed by Oxford University and not more than eight members appointed jointly by the Government and the University . . . Among those serving

on the Governing Body are the Rt. Rev. J. L. Wilson, Bishop of Birmingham, Sir Maurice Bowra, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P. and Professor Arthur Lewis of Manchester University. (*The Commonwealth News Agency*, March 23, 1955.)

INDUSTRIALISATION IN AFRICA

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has considered a survey on the processes and problems of industrialisation in the under-developed countries . . . In East, West and Central Africa there is daily evidence of impatience by African leaders to introduce new measures of industrialisation.

An illustration of this urge has just come from the Southern Cameroons in West Africa where the authorities have decided to establish a new industrial area. A correspondent reports from Buea that the Government is acquiring five acres of land for this purpose on the Victoria to Tiko road, opposite the Ombe River Government Trade Centre. The land is at present occupied by the Cameroons Development Corporation. The Financial Secretary, Mr. John Murray, at the recent budget session of the Southern Cameroons Legislature, said that the Southern Cameroons Government was anxious to attract overseas enterprise and capital to carry out development, and wanted to create a climate favourable to foreign investment. Mr. Murray added that the Government would do all it could to encourage trading firms to enter the Southern Cameroons. The setting up of this industrial area is the first step to implement that promise.

Commenting on the problem as a whole, the authors of the Survey state that: "Notwithstanding the many difficulties they face, under-developed countries today have one notable advantage over those that were industrialised during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: there is a vast fund of experience to draw on and for the most part the mistakes of European countries need not be repeated."

The Survey warns the under-developed countries against "a tendency to underestimate the significance of the long period of economic and social change which prepared Western Europe for the advent of the industrial exchange economy". It emphasises that industrialisation is a process of growth organically linked both to the social and economic past and to parallel current processes of social and economic development.

Governments, it says, will have to play a more positive rôle in guiding investments, preparing the factors for more productive employment, and assisting in the mutually beneficial adjustment of human and industrial needs, than was the case in most European countries, because the social and economic environment that exists in most under-developed countries has many features which are unfavourable to industrial growth.

The development of agriculture simultaneously with, if not in advance of, manufacturing, was necessary to achieve steady economic progress and to avoid disequilibria which later might become a source of hardship.

There are three main obstacles to industrialisation. These are shortage of, or difficulties in connection with, transport and power; disparities in the development of the various sectors of the economy; and low incomes per head of populations. The lower the income, the higher is likely to be the proportion spent on food, and the less there is left for the purchase of manufactured articles. Many under-developed

countries are too small to be able to sustain factories of economic size in more than one or two segments of industry.

The advent of manufacturing industries represented a totally new form of productive organisation to a large extent alien in origin and functionally unrelated to the existing economic and social pattern of under-developed countries such as in Africa, Asia and to some extent in Latin America.

A shortage of capital tended to make the industrialisation process in all under-developed countries dependent to some extent upon external financing. The impoverishment of many industrial countries in the second World War tended to reduce the amount of capital available for overseas investment. International organisations, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the U.N. programme of Technical Assistance and the Colombo Plan were now able to give aid previously given by individual countries. A danger in industrialisation was a tendency it created to divide urban and rural communities in the countries concerned. (*The Commonwealth News Agency*, March 30, 1955.)

THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM

Addressing the Royal Society of Arts, Lord Hailey said the recent increase of the spirit of nationalism among the more advanced Africans was a corollary of the feeling of unsettlement caused by the second World War. It might perhaps be more properly defined as an upsurge of Africanism; and that was not by any means an unnatural feeling, even though its most obvious manifestation might be an attack on a European system of government with a view to replacing it by an African. The position was complicated by the diversity of the policies adopted by different governments for meeting this movement.

Except in the Union, there had, since the termination of the war, been a general feeling that some form of concession should be made to it. In the British areas it had resulted in the more rapid extension of that form of self-government based on parliamentary institutions which had from early days been the traditional method of dealing with these situations.

"If we have felt any doubt on the subject, it is only in regard to the tempo of advance, not in regard to its direction, nor to the goal of independence to which it points. The speed of some of our more recent performances in the extension of self-government must have satisfied even the most ardent apostles of anti-colonialism," Lord Hailey observed. (*South Africa*, April 23, 1955.)

U.N. NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES COMMITTEE

The Committee on Information from non-Self-Governing Territories has recommended to the General Assembly that the Committee be continued on the same basis for a further three years when its present term expires at the end of the current session.

This recommendation was part of an amendment proposed jointly by China and the United States to a three-power draft resolution introduced by Burma, India and Iraq. The three-power draft originally proposed to continue the Committee without specifying any period.

The proposal as revised was adopted as a whole by nine votes to nil with four abstentions. The abstaining countries were Australia, Burma, France and the United Kingdom.

Mr. B. O. B. Gidden said that, in principle, the U.K. Government was opposed to the existence of the Committee. So far, the U.K. Government had not decided whether it would participate in the future should the Assembly decide to continue the Committee. M. Robert BARGUES said the French Government was in a similar position. (*The Commonwealth News Agency*, May 18, 1955.)

In the course of its discussions the Committee considered the rôle of community development in the general advancement of the peoples of non-self-governing territories. The U.K. representative, Mr. W. H. Chinn, said that in recent years community development had become the mainstay of British policy in non-self-governing territories . . . The Brazilian delegate commended the U.K. for the remarkable work that was being done in this field.

In discussing the question of race relations in dependent areas, the representatives of Burma, India, Iraq and China commended progress in many parts of Africa towards improving race relations, but they urged that in territories where discrimination still exists measures should be intensified to eliminate such practices. (*United Nations News*, May 3, 1955.)

THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

The Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung included representatives from North Africa, and from the Gold Coast. The Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, Lord Malvern, regretted that he could not attend as the views of the Federation could have been expressed there to a wide and important gathering outside the normal range of the countries with whom the Federation had contacts. (*The Times*, May 2, 1955.) The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Richard Casey, said he believed that frequent exchanges of views between leaders of countries would result in better understanding of common problems. (*India News*, April 23, 1955.) Mr. Roscoe Drummond, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* (April 20, 1955) said the conference was called "to find ways to improve the conditions of the under-developed countries, to oppose colonialism and racial discrimination and to find ways to settle problems without the use of force." He added that "the United States has urged its friends to attend and to choose delegations strong enough to see that the Communists do not lead it away from its purposes."

The Conference issued a communiqué, in the course of which it said:—

" . . . Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted with the least possible delay to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations . . ."

With regard to "Racial segregation and discrimination which forms the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world" it said: "Such conduct is not only gross violation of human rights but also denial of fundamental values of civilisation and the dignity of man. The conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by victims of racial discrimination, especially by peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa, applauded all

those who sustained their cause, reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries, and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it . . .

"The conference noted (1) the widespread desire in the region for mutual assistance. However, 'proposals with regard to economic co-operation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for co-operation with countries outside the region including investment of foreign capital.' The conference recognised that assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region through international or under bilateral arrangements had made a valuable contribution to implementation of their development programmes.

(2) "The participating countries agreed to provide technical assistance to one another to the maximum extent practicable . . .

(3) "The conference recommended early establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development, allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of the greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries, early establishment of an international finance corporation which should include in its activities undertaking of equity investment and encouragement of promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest . . .

"The Conference believed that Asian and African cultural co-operation should be developed in the larger context of world co-operation." (*India News*, April 30, 1955.)

INDIA & AFRICA

BREAKDOWN OF TALKS BETWEEN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA has abandoned attempts to re-open talks with India and Pakistan on the future of people living in the Union who originated from the Indian sub-continent. Mr. Eric Louw, Union Minister for External Affairs, said that the Government had reached this decision because India had deliberately attempted to wreck the discussions through the recent critical speeches made by its Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru.

Telegrams exchanged by the Governments concerned with the future of people of Indian and Pakistani stock in the Union have been published at Cape Town. They show that South Africa informed New Delhi in December 1954 of its willingness for discussions outside the United Nations on this question provided it was treated as a matter of South African domestic concern. India had replied welcoming the Union's approach, but while further exchanges were taking place on the question, South Africa had complained of two speeches Mr. Nehru made in which he had referred to the "tyrannical oppression" and "dastardly happenings" in the Union . . .

The Indian Government has disclaimed responsibility for the breakdown of the negotiations. It says: "The Indian Government has openly and persistently criticised the treatment to which people of non-European origin in the Union are

being subjected. The Union Government had not halted their repressive measures pending talks in which the Government of India hoped to participate." (*South Africa*, April 30, 1955.)

Commenting, the *Indian Statesman* (April 24, 1955) said: "Mr. Nehru's speeches could hardly have come as a surprise to the South African Government. For several weeks the South African Government failed to send a reply to the Indian proposals (for talks), though the time-limit for talks between the three Governments expires early next month. Throughout this period the South African Government had relentlessly pursued its policy of racial segregation in violation of both fundamental human rights and the U.N. Charter."

AFRICAN STUDENTS IN INDIA

Over fifty African students in India assembled in Bangalore for the four-day annual conference. Mr. I. E. Omolo, President of the African Students' Association, said that so far they had gained much from the contacts they had with cities of India during their stay there. But he expressed regret that their contribution in the way of interpreting the African way of life to the people of India had not gone a long way yet, due to paucity of means. He said that they also had problems of adjustment typical to students from foreign countries. He hoped their study in India would contribute to better understanding and friendship.

Mr. Nehru, in his message to the conference, said: "The Government of India are anxious to help Africans prepare themselves for service of their own countries. Various parts of Africa are going through a period of great trial. I earnestly hope that these countries will attain the objectives their leaders and peoples have, and develop these in freedom." (*India News*, May 14, 1955.)

The delay in production of the last two DIGESTS is much regretted. It has been due to shortage of staff while urgent and unavoidable issues have arisen. However the DIGEST always covers fully the intervening period when such delay occurs.

BOOK LIST

WEST AFRICA

General

CARY, JOYCE. *Britain and West Africa*. Longmans Green, 1947. A booklet by the novelist who was in the Nigerian Political Service from 1913-20.

DAVIDSON, BASIL (Editor). *The New West Africa*. George Allen and Unwin. A discussion of political, economic and social problems by several experts, including Thomas Hodgkin.

DAVIS, JACKSON, THOMAS M. CAMPBELL, MARGARET WRONG. *Africa Advancing: a study of rural education and agriculture in West Africa and the Belgian Congo*. International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa. 1947. Covering questions of government as well.

HAILEY, LORD. *Native Administration*. 1951. West Africa—Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia.

HUXLEY, ELSPETH. *Four Guineas*. Chatto and Windus. Account of a journey through West Africa.

KINGSLEY, MARY H. *Travels in West Africa, Congo Francais, Corisco and Cameroons*. Macmillan, 1897. *West African Studies*. 1899. Delightful accounts by the pioneer woman traveller and anthropologist.

NEWLYN and ROWAN. *Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa*. Oxford University Press. A discussion of economic and financial policy in the colonies, with special reference to West Africa.

PEDLER, F. J. *West Africa*. Methuen, 1951. An up-to-date survey from the standpoint of the colonial administrator: discusses economic conditions and the political picture.

WILSON, CHARLES. *The History of Unilever* (2 vols.). Cassell. A valuable account of the rôle of the United Africa Company in West Africa.

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents.

